A Survey
of
The Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar

(1603-78)

by

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with a Foreword

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FOREWORD

MR. POONEN has done me the honour of inviting me to write a foreword to this book. My justification for accepting his invitation is old friendship and not any expert knowledge of the subject. But even a layman can appreciate the quality of Mr. Poonen's work. He has devoted to it many years of careful study for which the condition was a competent knowledge of an unfamiliar language. He has searched widely for material and used it with critical judgment. He has presented the results of his research in a volume which is easy and interesting to read. In this field he has had few predecessors in this country to blazon the trail; and he has cut a wider swathe than any of them and marked a clear track for scholars who may wish to explore further.

The story of Dutch expansion, not only in the East, suggests some reflections. A large territory, a wealth of material resources and a numerous population are increasingly regarded as the criteria of the greatness of a state. But the Netherlands were a small country, much of which was guarded from the sea only by painful vigilance. It had no cotton, little wool, no iron, no coal, no gold. Its few inhabitants had in the 17th

century only just emerged from a protracted and desperate struggle for political and religious liberty. But their poverty and long resistance against what seemed hopeless odds had bred in them resolution and resourcefulness, a strong self-reliance combined with discipline which enabled them to overcome their weakness in material resources by character and industry. At least two other factors helped them. The first was the influence of religion, dour, austere and occasionally intolerant in some of its manifestations, but at least one which made for earnest effort, high if rigid standards of conduct and a strong faith in individual and national destiny. The other was the proximity of the sea on which and beyond which alone a small country hemmed in by powerful neighbours could expand. Perhaps we in these days need to be reminded that it is character and not wealth or numbers that makes a people great.

Mr. Poonen, I am sure, is a safe guide through a tangled and unfamiliar period of South Indian history; and the thoughtful reader will find in his book much that is pertinent to the understanding and solution of our present discontents and distresses.

Coonoor,
16th June 1948.

K. ZACHARIAH

PREFACE

EMBOLDENED by the favourable comments of several critics who have perused the same, I am presenting to the Public this account of the rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar (1603-1678), a narrative which, it is hoped, will serve as a useful prelude to the study of the voluminous mass of source material relating to the Dutch in Malabar preserved in the Madras Record Office and elsewhere. The earliest document in the Madras collection bears the date 1677. The present study, which covers the seventy-five years preceding the composition of that narrative, naturally furnishes the reader with information which is indispensable for the right understanding of later developments; and to that extent the author modestly claims to have rendered some service to those who wish to grope their way through a dark period of South Indian History.

This work is the result of study extending over a period of several years, and has been made possible by the generous financial assistance granted by the University of Madras in the shape first of a Research Fellowship and subsequently of a Special Research Grant. Alike during my tenure of the Fellowship and afterwards, the University of Madras, at my request, placed, in the University Library as well as the Library of the Indian History Department, several standard Dutch works dealing with the subject. Facilities were also provided by the University of Madras for my visiting Calcutta and working in the Imperial Library and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as also for consulting source documents in the

Imperial Record Office, then housed at Calcutta, the Bengal Record Office, the Madras Record Office and the Central Record Office, Ernakulam. Every request made by me for a loan of books has through a long course of years been most promptly complied with by the authorities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—a circumstance which a non-member like myself very greatly appreciates. Thanks to the good offices of Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, late of the University of Madras, it was also possible to borrow manuscripts from the India Office Library. When, for reasons of health, I felt compelled to resign my Research Fellowship, the Syndicate of the Madras University generously waived all their claims on me, enabling me thereby to make a free use of the material collected largely at their cost. I may add that a booklet of mine called *Dutch Beginnings in India Proper* was published by the University of Madras in 1933. It was intended to be the beginning of an attempt to cover the story of Dutch enterprise in India on a wide scale both in time and space. The author has since been convinced that it was too ambitious a venture for the unaided efforts of a single worker. The present narrative is, therefore, confined to that limited part of India with which he is familiar, and embraces only a limited period. If, in spite of its short-comings, this work succeeds in creating in the minds of its readers an interest in the large mass of Dutch sources on Indian History, awaiting exploitation at the hands of scholars, the author will feel amply rewarded.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention that, without the invaluable help rendered by the late Dr. A. Moffat of the Madras Christian College and later of the Union Christian College, Alwaye, it would not have been possible for me to have acquired such working knowledge of

the Dutch language as I now possess. I am also indebted to the late Johan Van Mannen of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Father Englebert of St. Joseph's High School, Trivandrum, and Father Constantine of the Carmel-Hill Monastery, Trivandrum, for the interpretation of obscure passages in several source documents in seventeenth century Dutch. The account of the siege of Cochin is, to a considerable extent, based on translations provided by Father Englebert from originals which I sent to him—narratives which had never before been rendered into English. I am also very much alive to the interest evinced by Professor J. Van Kan, sometime Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Batavia, in my translations of passages in the *Batavia Dagh-Register*. His warm commendation of the writer's translations encourages him to hope that this work is not altogether a waste of labour. The late Rajasabhabushana K. Chandy, retired Member of Council, Mysore, and sometime Vice-Chancellor, University of Mysore, very kindly read through the manuscript and made useful suggestions which are greatly appreciated. Above all, I must record my deepest gratitude to the Syndicate of the University of Travancore for having undertaken the publication of this work. I greatly appreciate the support rendered to me in this matter by the late Dr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, former Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Travancore, and Mahakavi Ollur S. Parameswara Iyer, Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies. I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Professor V. Rangacharya for having taken up the responsibility of reading through the whole book and making several useful suggestions regarding the grouping of chapters and allied matters for which he was uniquely fitted by reason of his vast erudition and sound scholarship. His successor as

Head of the History Department in the University of Travancore, Professor V. Narayana Pillai, now Principal, University College, Trivandrum, has been responsible for making satisfactory arrangements for seeing this book through the press. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity for recording my obligations to him for the help rendered in this respect. My esteemed friend, Mr. K. Zachariah, has honoured me with a most encouraging foreword for which I thank him. My late colleague, Mr. A. Aravamudha Iyengar, Head of the English Department, Union Christian College, Alwaye, has laid me under a deep obligation by placing his services unstintedly at my disposal for reading the proofs.

For the information of my readers I have to add that, though this book had been accepted for publication several years ago, its actual printing was unfortunately held up for long owing to reasons beyond my control. However, I am not aware of the appearance during the intervening period of new source material relating to the subject likely to alter any of the statements made in this work.

I do hope that this subject will enlist the interest of all lovers of the History of Malabar and stimulate further research. Familiarity with the information furnished in these pages may, it is fondly believed, be also of some use to those who are tackling practical problems like the unification of Kerala which is one of the live issues of to-day.

Alwaye,
7th, September 1948.

T. I. POONEN

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* In all places where the title *Dag-Register* occurs, it should be read as *Dagh-Register*.

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ADDENDA

Page 30 line 26. After, Anglo-Dutch Rivalry. add (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1911)

Page 56. As foot-note on *ambergris* in the last line, insert the following Ambergris is a waxy substance found floating in tropical seas and as a morbid secretion in the sperm whale whence it is all believed to come. It is much used in making scent on account of its agreeable smell.

Page 77. As foot-note on *Tapasses* in line 23, insert "See Chapter XVII, page 272."

Page 91. Above para 2, read as title *Description of Cochin.*

Page 92. As foot-note on Xeraphin in line 3. See foot-note 25 (*a*), page 150.

Page 92 line 15. After *Chengalazht*, insert (Cranganore harbour).

Page 196 As line 15, add Possessions and Dwellings of the Dutch in Malabar.

INTRODUCTION

Reconstruction of Indian History in Recent Times Historical outlook, it is almost a truism to say, has been considerably altered since the day on which Elphinstone wrote that it was hard to construct a connected relation of the national affairs of India prior to the Muhammadan conquest. As a result of the patient researches of diligent scholars, it has been possible to fill up the gaps in Ancient Indian History, and present day treatises on the subject extend right back to the civilization which flourished in the Indus Valley about five thousand years ago. As we travel further down the stream of time, we naturally expect our material to be richer and our vision to be clearer and less clouded by obscure hypotheses and doubtful speculations. In regard to the later stages of her history, when India came into contact with enterprising Western nations who took care to chronicle faithfully their achievements as also the events which were taking place in the countries with which they were carrying on their distinctive operations, we are prone to assume that the historian's task would be refreshingly simple and that there would not be much scope for further research. But this is not so even when we come to as recent a period as the seventeenth century A.D.

A Neglected Field of Indian History The reign of Aurangzēb, the last of the Great Mughals, witnessed the settlement, in different parts of India, of three European nations interested in foreign trade. The occupation of

Bombay by the English and of Pondicherry by the French as well as the capture of the Portuguese fortresses of Cannanore, Cranganore, Cochin and Quilon in Malabar by the Dutch[1], belongs to this period. While the operations of the English and the French in India have been exhaustively chronicled, the activities of the Dutch have not received adequate treatment at the hands of the general historian of India. Until the publication of Moreland's *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (Macmillan & Co. London, 1923), few students of Indian History ever realised that "it was the Dutch, and not the English, who succeeded to the Portuguese mastery of the Asiatic seas, and that, for the greater part of a century, it was the Dutch who took the largest share in the external commerce of India". This neglect was due not so much to the unimportance of the subject as "to the inaccessibility of the sources from which information regarding them must be drawn". Dutchmen were concerned with the history of their Island Empire in the East rather than with the affairs of the Indian Peninsula from which they were completely eliminated by their English rivals by the end of the eighteenth century. Published materials are available in Dutch, but the lack of familiarity with that language on the part of students has stood in the way of their utilization. All honour therefore to Messrs. Moreland and Galletti[2] who have proved conclusively that there is a wealth of historical material awaiting the study of those who possess the equipment and aptitude to pursue the same.

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[1] The Northern Flemings who had acquired their independence of Spain and joined with the Western Flemings to form the United Provinces, of which Holland was the principal part, were called the Dutch by the English in the seventeenth century—Sir Harry Johnstone: 'Pioneers in India'. (London: Blackie, 1913, Page 172).

[2] 'The Dutch in Malabar' by A. Galletti, I.C.S., the Rev. A. J. Van Der Burg, and the Rev. P. Groot, S.S.J., Madras Government Press, 1911.

CHAPTER I

THE DUTCH AND THE EAST

Dutchmen drawn to the East Dutch records are of inestimable value in reconstructing the history of Malabar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For understanding clearly these records and the story of Dutch activities in Malabar, it is necessary to have some idea of the circumstances in which the Dutch made their appearance in the East. In the seventeenth century trade between the several countries of Europe and the East was brought to great maturity. The English and the Dutch especially realised the dependence of their commercial prosperity on commercial treaties between different nations. Dutchmen first came to India in the service of the Portuguese, but, later on, they used their knowledge against the latter. There were special causes which brought about the ruin of Portuguese fortunes in Asia, and there were others which accounted for the vast increase of the wealth and power of the United Netherlands whose inhabitants eventually supplanted the former. The long duration of the Civil wars, first in France, next in Germany, and lastly in England, drove to the Netherlands all those who were persecuted at home for religion. Moderation in treatment and toleration towards quiet and peaceable people characterised Holland, and enabled her to enhance her wealth, self-confidence and strength. The armies invading Holland had indeed to reckon with several formidable obstacles.

In the first place, there was the river system acting as a barrier to aggressors. Secondly, by opening the dyke, the Dutch could at any moment have their land submerged in water. The free constitution of the Dutch, again, was another source of strength. Finally, the Bank of Amsterdam, which was reckoned the first in Europe, provided safety, security and facilities for men with property. The Bank possessed immense treasure, and its credit was high. It was a nation possessed of these manifold advantages that made the first determined effort to break the Portuguese monopoly of Eastern trade. (Anderson)

Decay of the Portuguese in India From the arrival of the Dutch, the Portuguese justly date the ruin of their affairs in India. A very probable cause of the decline of the Portuguese in India was their conquest of Brazil. Finding more profit in that rich colony, they neglected India, and failed to send thither supplies sufficient even for preserving what they already possessed, and much less for making new conquests. Their Indian territories were too numerous and too far apart to be effectually guarded. At the same time, they were involved in actions in too many theatres. They had to fight against the Dutch in Europe as well as in India and Brazil. Further, during the period of the subjugation of Portugal to Spain (1580–1640), there was continuous jealousy between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The religious crusades of the latter made them unpopular. The dead weight of the religious establishments interfered with the vitality of the State. The Portuguese dominion remained an exotic, and cast no roots into the soil. In the absence of a territorial revenue, successive Viceroys were compelled to levy high duties on the import and export of goods, thereby killing trade. The commercial glory of Ormuz, Calicut, Cochin and of Malacca became a thing of the past long before these places were actually lost by the Portuguese. Everywhere, corruption, confusion and

jealousy prevailed. The Spanish struggle with the Dutch impoverished the Portuguese. So clear were the signs of the Portuguese power being on the wane that Indian princes no longer asked them for passports for their vessels as they had done in the days of Portuguese predominance in the East. Had it not been for the missionaries, the Portuguese king would perhaps have abandoned India much earlier than the date of their eventual overthrow.

Portuguese Monopoly and the Dutch Though the incorporation of Portugal with Spain in 1580 spelt disaster to the Protuguese cause in India, the closing years of the sixteenth century found their position still comparatively strong. Relying on the bull of Pope Alexánder VI (1493) and the treaty of Tordesillas (1494) by which all countries east of the imaginary line 270 degrees west of the Azores were to belong to Portugal, the Portuguese were maintaining a monopoly over Asiatic waters. Lisbon became a staple[1] port from which the rich products of Eastern Asia were brought by other Europeans. A great portion of these fell into the hands of the Netherlanders who made good use of their favourable geographical position between the south and the north for providing themselves with Asiatic goods. The people of the Southern Netherlands greatly distinguished themselves in this trade[2]; but, when Antwerp fell into the hands of the Spaniards in 1585, many of their merchants proceeded northwards to Holland and Zealand, and made their capital, knowledge and spirit of enterprise available for the development of Holland. Thus, though the sea-route to the East had been discovered by the Portuguese, the Dutch also came to profit from the fruits of Eastern trade. What was brought to Lisbon was sold to the peoples of other parts of Europe by the Flemings,

[1] A staple was a place where goods were stored for sale. *The New Standard Encyclopaedia*, p. 1166.

[2] Meinsma and Aalbers (See Chapter III *infra.*)

Zealanders and Hollanders. So long as these facilities were available, there was no motive compelling the Dutch to undertake voyages of their own to the East. The union between Portugal and Spain in 1580 changed the situation. The Port of Lisbon was closed to the Dutch in 1585. In retaliation, the States-General forbade Dutch trade with Portugal. The Dutch had also to reckon with the aggression of the English who began to attack Dutch vessels on sea. In these circumstances, the Dutch had to make use of the knowledge of Eastern waters which had been imparted to them by the charts of the minister and geographer, Petrus Plancius[3], and the traveller Linschoten[4], a former employee of the Archbishop of Goa, living in retirement at home. Eventually, the Dutch decided on undertaking direct voyages to the East.

Early Dutch Attempts on Indian Soil The Dutch were thus the first Protestant nation who challenged the Portuguese monopoly in India. The original destination of the Dutch in the East was the Archipelago. But for the purpose of making purchases in the East Indies, cloth from Coromandel and Gujarat, which had long acquired the character of a medium of exchange, became necessary. So the Dutch began to contemplate the possibility of opening up trade with the mainland of India. While the Dutch mainly aimed at commerce with India, they also aimed at conquest, partly for the sake of security, and partly from their conviction that fixed establishments in different parts of India were requisite for the stability of their enterprise.[5] The early attempts at Surat[6] ended disastrously, but good

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[3] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, Chapter II, page 28.

[4] Rogers: *Holland* (Story of the Nations), London, 1897, Page 17.

[5] Introduction to 'Dutch Treaties' in Mackenzie Mss. Ms. No. 23375. 118 of the Madras Record Office.

[6] Surat was the great port of the Mughal Province of Gujarat.

progress was made in Coromandel. Several visits were paid to Malabar from the commencement of the seventeenth century; but actual business transactions began only much later. For a long time it was thought that it was foolhardy to try to buy pepper [7] in the strongholds of the Portuguese in Malabar. So, for a number of years, the Dutch enterprise in India centred round the purchase of cloth from Gujarat and Coromandel to suit the requirements of the Malay market. Later, indigo [8] also began to be bought in large quantities. There were two places from which indigo was purchased, namely Biana [9] near Agra and Sarkhej [10] near Ahmedabad which was a great city in the time of the Mughal Emperors and in fact the capital of Gujarat.

Early Trade of the Dutch in India In those days foreign nations desirous of engaging themselves in commercial enterprises in Eastern lands had to meet difficulties of various kinds which it is not easy for modern readers to realise. Years before, when the Portuguese came to Calicut, the Zamorin had said "In my country there is pepper". [11] If he had not been molested by the Moors, the Zamorin would have allowed them to trade. In like manner other Indian rulers were willing to afford facilities for trade to foreign merchants because of the gain it would bring to the State through customs duties. But the Indian powers were often

[7] Pepper is a perennial shrub (*Piper Nigrum*) indigenous to the Malabar coast. Pepper grows best in shady places. The stem is slender like that of the vine. It is a climbing plant with usually six bunches, each one foot long. Pepper is plucked in the months of October and November, and is then green. It is dried on mats, and becomes black in a few days. (*The New Standard Encyclopaedia*, p. 986, and Baldaeus)

[8] Indigo was an important blue dye-stuff prepared from several leguminous plants cultivated in India.

[9] Biana near Agra was an important centre of the indigo trade in the seventeenth century.

[10] Sarkhej near Ahmedabad was also an important centre for the Indigo trade in the seventeenth century.

[11] Jayne: '*Life and Letters of Vasco da Gama.*'

desirous of extorting as much as they could from these foreign merchants and so alienated them. The attitude of the Dutch to these powers could not therefore be always cordial and friendly, but it varied in different cases. Gujarat was a Mughal province; and against the strong arm of the great Mughal the Dutch were powerless. Here trade could be carried on only after the receipt of *firmans* or grants from the court of Delhi. The Emperors, on their part, tried to secure as favourable terms as they could. It would have been impossible to resist the exactions of Indian potentates but for the fact that they possessed no navy. Their pilgrim and merchant ships used to take passes from the Portuguese for the safety of their vessels. The fear of Dutch ships at sea was therefore the only circumstance which tended to minimise the Mughal demands. Similarly, on the east coast, at Masulipatam[12] and in the neighbourhood, the Dutch had to deal with the court of Golconda. Here also the fear of naval reprisals was the only factor which tended to moderate the Moorish demands. Often, the provincial rulers were able to ignore the decrees of the Central Government and have their own way with the Dutch merchants. These governors held office only for short periods, and that after paying heavy bribes. Hence, during their brief spell of power, they sought to recover what they had paid. They were necessarily oppressive, and there were frequent misunderstandings between them and the Dutch. Moorish exactions became so intolerable that more than once the Dutch thought of blockading the Moorish ports and taking revenge on sea.

The Dutch and European Rivals Another source of trouble for the Dutch merchants was the opposition of rival European nations. The Potruguese thought that these latter were encroaching into their preserves in violation of current

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[12] Masulipatam was the chief port of Golconda.

international morality. Naturally, they wanted to oppose the Dutch in all possible ways. Their power, however, was declining and they were not able to hold their own against the combined actions of the Protestant nations. Their morale was steadily deteriorating. Having realised that they could not win in open conflict, the Portuguese resorted to the use of foul means. They endeavoured to prejudice the Mughal and Golconda courts as also the Hindu powers of the South against the Dutch. But here also they failed. Another party with whom the Dutch had unpleasant relations were the English. While the Dutch received substantial help from the English in Europe against the Spaniards, they were at bitter feud with that nation in the East. The massacre of Amboyna[13] marked the culmination of Dutch hostility against the English. Even in the mainland of India there was bitter enmity between the two nations. Coen, the Dutch Governor-General, did not want the Dutch to help the English at Pulicat.[14] Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador to the court of Jahāngīr, dissuaded the English from helping a group of Dutchmen who suffered shipwreck. But it is comforting to note that he subsequently repented of this heartless counsel. At Armagaon[15] the Dutch raised various difficulties for the English, who eventually retired to the then obscure fishing village which subsequently developed into the city of Madras.

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[13] Amboyna is an island in the East Indies which belonged to the Netherlands. In 1623 the English agents at Amboyna were seized by the Dutch on a charge of conspiring to capture the fort, tortured and executed after a formal trial. This is spoken of as the massacre of Amboyna.

[14] Pulicat, for long the capital of the Dutch on the Coromandel coast, was situated north of Madras and near Ennore on the shore of the Pulicat lake.

[15] Armagaon was situated a few miles north of the Dutch settlement of Pulicat. Here the English opened a factory in 1626, but had to leave it in 1639 owing to the opposition of the Dutch.

Dutch Treaties with Indian Princes and the Bearing of the Political Conditions of South India on the Dutch Enterprise In all their engagements with Indian princes, the Dutch insisted on a clause excluding all other European nations from their kingdoms. However, there took place in 1619 an Anglo-Dutch understanding which was followed by an effort to unite the fleets of the two nations against Goa. The combined Fleet of Defence was really an aggressive undertaking on the part of the Dutch and English against the Portuguese; for the blockading of Goa made it impossible for the Portuguese to despatch ships from there or to receive reinforcements. The commercial efforts of the Danes on the Indian coast also met with opposition from the Dutch. Negotiations for their acquisition of Tranquebar from the Danes fell through. The continued hostility of other European nations was thus a powerful obstacle to Dutch trade. The political condition of Southern India at this time also created difficulties for the Dutch. The absence of a dominant Hindu power in the South made the position of the Dutch in this region exceedingly precarious. The attack on Pulicat by the Portuguese in 1612 proved conclusively that Indian Governments were powerless against European aggressors. Hence it came to pass that, at about the time when Sir Thomas Roe was enunciating in England his famous theory of peaceful trade, the Dutch in India built the strong defence-fort of Geldria at Pulicat. In fact, it was the possession of Geldria which made it possible for the Dutch to carry on their commercial ventures on Coromandel coast unmolested by the attacks of the Portuguese, the rivalry of the English, and the intrigues of the inland powers.

Role of the Dutch in India Though there is no period in Indian History which can be exclusively styled 'the Dutch period', it cannot be denied that the Dutch have played an important part in that history. The Dutch con-

tribution to Indian History is that they destroyed the Portuguese when the latter were already sinking under the effects of their own corruption (Keene). They contested the commercial power of Portugal with success and were engaged in a long and obstinate contest with the English down to the time when the Stadt-holder became king of England. They also introduced methods of trade and of territorial government which the English who followed them adopted with profit. They anticipated the French in making an attempt to establish political dominion on Indian soil as the events of the Travancore War show. The history of the Dutch in India thus necessarily involves not only a survey of their relations with Indian princes, but also with rival European nations who were on the look-out for pepper and other spices. These were required in Europe at that time for preserving meat and for flavouring dishes. Among the spices, pepper took the first place. Pepper is thus the historical foundation of the direct trade between India and Western Europe. (Moreland)

CHAPTER II

MALABAR AND THE DUTCH

Malabar On the mainland of India, Dutch operations extended to four regions, *viz*: Gujarat, Coromandel, Bengal and Malabar. It is with the last of these areas that we are concerned in this study. Cut off from the rest of India by the mighty barrier of the Sahyadri (Western Ghats), the Malayalam speaking country, variously called Kērala, Malabar or 'Malankara', has rarely entered into the main current of Indian politics. Light is indeed thrown on Malabar of early and mediaeval times by literature[1] and inscriptions; but it was only in the beginning of modern times that this linguistic area assumed importance as the scene of the earliest contact of a European nation with the East since the days of the Greeks. Malabar, when Vasco da Gama landed on its shores, was, like Italy till the seventies of the last century, a mere geographical expression. There were more than forty princelings among whom the territory was divided[2]; and these chiefs were often at feud with one another. The disunion of the Malabar princes, which manifested itself in internecine warfare and mutual rivalries, was responsible for the domination first of the Portuguese and then of the Dutch in Malabar. These nations managed, albeit for a time, to exercise a measure of political and commercial influence far out of proportion to their actual resources.

Kērala through the centuries Hoary tradition, as recorded in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* and incorporated in Portuguese

[1] Writings of Valmiki, Kalidasa and Vyasa.

[2] *Vide* list of states mentioned in Van Rheede's *Memoir* (Dutch records No. 14, Madras Government Press, 1911) pp. 1-4.

and Dutch writings, looked back to a time when the entire land of Malabar was ruled by a single monarch. Nagam Aiya, following Gundert and relying on the copper plate charters[3] possessed by the Jews and the Syrian Christians, in one of which the ruler of Travancore is mentioned as a witness, rejects the story of the division of Kērala among several rulers on the abdication of the last of the Perumaḷs, and holds that the Kulásēkhara Perumāḷs of Travancore were independent sovereign princes even in these early days when the Perumāls were, as tradition would have it, brought over to the West Coast from beyond the Ghats. In the 11th century A. D., according to Shangunny Menon,[4] the Ballalas were driven from Kerala by the combined forces of the Kolathunad (the northernmost state of Kerala) and Travancore, and the whole land was then divided between them, Travancore ruling the region south of the Korapuzha, and Kolathunad the land north of that river. When the Portuguese came, the land was divided among several princes, and Travancore was a very small principality in the extreme south. The Diary of Archbishop Menezes,[5] edited by Guovea, shows that, in the closing years of the sixteenth century, Travancore aimed, by peaceful means, at the absorption of small kingdoms like Betimene and Marta, between Cochin and Quilon, the latter of which

[3] Certain grants given by the old rulers of Malabar to Jews and Syrian Christians are still in existence. The plates granted to the Jews are kept at the Jewish Synagogue, Cochin. The inscription is in the Vatteluttu or old Tamil character with a few Grantha letters in Sanskrit words. (Galletti, page 193, foot-note). The Christian charters were discovered by the English in the factory at Cochin in 1806 and are now kept at Kottayam and Tiruvalla by the Jacobite and Mar Thoma Metropolitans respectively.

[4] Shangunny Menon: *History of Travancore,* Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1878. Chapter I, para 3, page 90.

The Korapuzha is a river in North Malabar. Hindu women of North Malabar did not in the old days go south of that river.

[5] Menezes was the Archbishop of Goa at the close of the 16th century A. D. The author is grateful to Mr. K. N. Daniel for permission to use an English translation of Guovea's Diary (Dajornado) of Menezes, specially prepared for Mr. Daniel.

was then affiliated to Travancore. Imaginative and far-seeing rulers of Travancore recognized the folly of mutual recriminations, the outcome of a multiplicity of political jurisdictions. They took to heart their weakness in dealing with foreign nations and worked for the reunion of Kērala. The most notable attempt at the restoration of Pan-Kērala unity was made, in Dutch times, by the vigorous and masterful prince who succeeded in 1729 to the throne of Travancore, then a small principality suffering from the lukewarm loyalty of unruly feudal vassals. The name of Mārtāṇḍa Varma, who assumed the role of a unifier of Kēraḷa by conquest, has gathered round it an odour of sanctity similar to that which a Scotchman associates with the illustrious names of Bruce and Wallace. Relying on Tamil Brahmin brain power, Marava physical force, Flemish military genius, the money and arms provided by the English merchants of Anjengo and the resources supplied by enterprising Chetty and Syrian Christian merchants, Mārtāṇḍa Varma evolved order out of chaos, and created a compact kingdom strong enough to give to its subjects prosperity and protection against the unjust commercial monopoly attempted by foreign merchants. Save for the subsequent enlargement caused by Cochin's cession of Ălaṅgāḍ and Parūr (1763) and the Dutch sale of the forts of Cranganore and Palliport (1789), Travancore remains, in point of size, as Mārtāṇḍa Varma left it. Even he, however, did not merge all the states of Kērala into one. Considerable portions of Cochin and the entire northern kingdoms remained outside his conquests. It was probably the support which Cochin received from the United Dutch East India Company which made Mārtāṇḍa Varma veto the plan of his minister Rama Iyen to annex Cochin.

Dutch plans in Malabar The United Dutch East India Company, which was incorporated in 1602, began to interest itself in the affairs of Malabar almost from that date. With

the Malabar princes the Company at first merely entered into commercial treaties devoid of military sanctions. Eventually, however, the Company made a great demonstration of naval and military power by the conquest of the Portuguese fortifications in Malabar during the years 1661 to 1663. For long, the Dutch merchants secured, with varying success, the monopoly of the Malabar trade. Finally, the Dutch were dispossessed by the English in 1795, thanks to the Dutch alliance with Revolutionary France. Had it not been for the resolute opposition of the Dutch, Travancore under Mārtāṇḍa Varma would have absorbed the Cochin and Calicut kingdoms, and Pan-Kērala unity would have thus become a *fait accompli.* That such a consummation was prevented, was largely due to the existence of the Dutch Company. Again, it was the resistance of the Dutch Company which prevented Travancore from being subjugated by Hyder Ali. The story of the establishment of the Dutch Power in Malabar, as also of Dutch relations with Travancore, is thus of considerable interest to students of South Indian History and of Travancore in particular.

Duration of Dutch Power in Malabar The India Office Report on the Dutch in India speaks of the Dutch period in Malabar as extending from the Dutch capture of Cochin (1663) to Hyder Ali's first appearance in Malabar (1776). But, for the purpose of a comprehensive study, we have to consider the chain of events commencing with the first arrival of the Dutch at Calicut in 1603 and ending with the English capture of Cochin in 1795. The intervening years may be divided into four periods: 1. The period of the foundation of Dutch power (1603–1678); 2. The period of the attempt of the Dutch to establish hegemony in Malabar (1678 to 1728); 3. The age of the opposition of Travancore to the Dutch (1729 to 1758); 4. The age of decline ending in the overthrow of the Dutch in Malabar (1758 to 1795). For all these periods, sufficient material is

now available in printed sources. The period of Dutch activities in Malabar, commencing with the appearance of Admiral Van der Hagen (1603) at Calicut, and ending with the military, administrative and literary activities of Van Rheede, including, in particular, Dutch progress up to the close of the Governor-Generalship of Mat Suiker in the Dutch East Indies (1678), forms one distinct epoch in the history of the Dutch in Malabar. That period also covers the closing stages of the long duel between the Dutch and the Portuguese in India. We have exhaustive accounts of the operations of the mighty Dutch fleet under the command of Rijklof Van Goens, Governor of Ceylon and Councillor of India. Quilon which had once previously fallen into the hands of the Dutch and been recaptured by the enemy was taken a second time. Cranganore offered long opposition but was taken. At Cochin, the foremost fortress, the Dutch felt compelled to give up the first siege. Van Goens concluded a satisfactory peace with the Zamorin who promised to deliver pepper exclusively to the Dutch and to send auxiliary troops and workmen. In the autumn of 1662 the siege of Cochin was renewed, and the place was taken in January 1663. Subsequently Cannanore was besieged and taken, and Goa, the last post of the Portuguese, was threatened when the peace already concluded in Europe between the Portuguese and the Dutch in 1661 was ratified and the war ended. The Dutch who had thus obtained great advantages tried to make the new conquests productive of gain by agreements for trade. These events and the important developments of policy following them furnish a most fruitful theme for study [6]. Similarly, the other periods of Dutch activities have also had a vital bearing on the general history of Malabar. It is proposed, in the present treatise, to review at length the rise and consolidation of Dutch power in Malabar during the first or foundation period (1603 to 1678).

[6] Meinsma, page 33.

CHAPTER III

MATERIALS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HISTORY OF THE DUTCH IN MALABAR

A difficult task To aim at producing a comprehensive narrative of the entire Dutch period of Malabar history, to do full justice to all the available manuscript sources in Europe and Asia, would practically be to attempt at the impossible. The sources are manifold. They are further in a strange language, often in a difficult script, and in various degrees of preservation and legibility, so that a single lifetime would hardly be sufficient for an exhaustive work. Extant Indian publications on the subject, which will presently be mentioned, have obvious limitations, and, though of considerable value to the lay reader, do not help serious students of the subject. These works only mark one stage in the progress of historical investigation, and there is a case for a more elaborate attempt based on the large mass of source material in different languages now released to the public by the labours of individual scholars, learned societies and interested governments. A Dutch writer, with easy access to the voluminous mass of source materials available in Holland, the Madras Record Office (in which are now concentrated all available Dutch records in British India) and the Record Offices at Colombo and Batavia,[1] would be the best person to handle the subject.

[1] Batavia, founded by the Dutch in Java in 1619, was their capital in the East.

One such attempt was contemplated some years ago by the Dutch scholar Aalbers before he wrote his work on Rijcklof Van Goens. "*Vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de kust van Malabar*" (Establishment of the Dutch on the coast of Malabar) was the title of a book planned by that author as a counterpart to Dr. Terpstra's well-known books dealing with the commencement of Dutch operations on the Coromandel Coast and in Gujarat. But, as he proceeded to study the subject, he perceived that the Dutch conquests on the Malabar Coast were intimately connected with their conquest of Ceylon and that the Dutch enterprise in Malabar was the mere outcome of a great expedition sent westward from Batavia with a wide commission under the future Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Rijcklof Van Goens, the Dutch conqueror of Malabar. This discovery had the effect of making the author abandon the projected work on Malabar in favour of an account of the first expedition of Van Goens. After giving an account of early Dutch voyages to the east, and their governmental organization in that region, this elaborate work, covering nearly 220 pages (quarto), stops with an account of the events which took place in the first years of the expedition to Ceylon. This circumstance shows clearly how difficult it was even for a Dutch author to realize his original aim of making the Dutch power in Malabar the subject of an elaborate treatise. When a Dutch author who enjoyed easy access to important source materials found that he could not write on Malabar because of the plethora of preliminary matter to be studied, we can well understand the paucity of satisfactory literature dealing with the foundation period of the Dutch in Malabar alike in English, the cultural language of modern India, and Malayalam, the language of Malabar.

Importance of the task Reconstruction of the history of the Dutch in Malabar, as originally projected by Aalbers,

though difficult of realization, is of very great importance to students of South Indian History. Though it is true that Malabar was commercially unimportant to the Dutch, we must recognize that Dutch writings on Malabar contain valuable historical matter which no one interested in South Indian history can afford to neglect, however slender and disappointing the dimensions of Dutch commerce in Malabar might have been. The excellent source material in Dutch, English and Malayalam, now available in print, as well as decipherable manuscripts in Madras and elsewhere affords sufficient justification for the attempt to be made by Malayalam speaking students familiar with mediaeval Dutch. Such a study may not lead to any brilliant discoveries, but it will, at any rate, prove conclusively that Dutchmen were not the godless creatures they have been depicted to be by their more fortunate successors and that there was no lack of outstanding characters among them as is sometimes assumed by Englishmen and those who study history under English guidance. In any case, such a study will serve as a sufficient foundation for later and ampler works on the considerable part which the Dutch have played in the commercial, cultural, political and religious history of Malabar. The present work is released to the public in the belief that its shortcomings would be condoned by scholars who cannot be unaware of the serious handicaps which face an Indian student who undertakes the study of this rather difficult subject.

Indian Publications on the Subject We may assess at this stage the value of certain works which have been published in India during the last forty years. These are (1) The *Dutch in Malabar* by A. Galletti, Rev. A. J. Van Der Burg, and Rev. P. Groot (Madras Government Press, 1911.) (2) *Pătăppāttŭ* or war song, a Malayalam historical poem on the Dutch conquest of Malabar, with an introduction in English by S. Parameswara Iyer, (Travancore Government

Press, 1924.) (3) *Malabar and the Dutch* by K. M. Panikkar (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1931.)

Galletti's "The Dutch in Malabar" Among these works the place of honour must necessarily be given to the work of Mr. Galletti. The talented author's attention was drawn, during the performance of administrative duties, to the large mass of Dutch documents taken over by the English on their capture of Cochin in 1795, subsequently transferred to Calicut, and now preserved in the Madras Record Office. Mr. Galletti who qualified himself for the task of editing Dutch documents by reading profusely Dutch books on the subject has written a helpful introduction to the translations of the *Memoirs*[2] of two Dutch Commandeurs of Cochin (Gollenesse and Moens) which he brought out jointly with the two missionaries already named. The late Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, an official of the Cochin State well versed in Malabar history, was freely consulted. Though Mr. Galletti himself later on induced the Madras Government to publish the *Memoir* on Malabar by Van Rheede (1677), he did not use that work for a systematic account of the foundation period of the Company in Malabar, as had been originally contemplated by Aalbers. Elaborate foot-notes, however, have been added by Mr. Galletti to the text of the translations, and these give very valuable guidance to those who wish to follow the fortunes of the Dutch in Malabar. A serious slip, however, occurs in the translation of a passage dealing with the Syrian Christians. On page 182, the translators say that Menezes brought the Syrians *back* to the obedience of Rome. The Dutch original is "*en de Sijriaansche Christenen voor het grootste gedeelte, met hunnen Bisschop onder de gehoorzamheijd*

[2] A Memoir was usually compiled by a departing Dutch Governor or Commandeur for the guidance of his successor in office. As a rule, such memoirs furnished descriptions of the country, its resources, people, industries etc. with special hints of a personal nature for the information of the incoming ruler.

van den Paus gebragt heeft," (page 92 of Dutch Records No. 2, and para 2 of the translation). This simply means that the Syrian Christians, for the most part, with their bishop, were brought under the obedience of the Pope. There is no word in the original for the word "*back*". One has the high authority of Professor J. van Kan [3] to hold that the translation here is clearly erroneous. Further, on page 176 of their translation (para 2), the translators themselves render a sentence of the original thus: "It was in this way that the Syrian Christians were for the *first* time united to the Church of Rome" (the original passage being found in para 4, page 84, of Dutch Records No. 2). This statement clearly contradicts the statement on page 182 of the translation to the effect that the Syrians were brought back to the obedience of Rome. Father Van Der Burg, when pressed for an explanation, urged that the translation was not literal, but that the meaning was the same, and that originally all Christians were under the Pope. This explanation can only be dismissed as partisan. In another connection, also, unwarranted liberties with the text seem to have been taken by the translators. On page 85 of Dutch Records No. 2 we find this passage: "*Anno 1665 is hier Van Antiochien een Jacobitsche bisschop gekomen genaamt Mar Gregorius*" meaning that "in A. D. 1665 a Jacobite Bishop named Mar Gregorius is come here from Antioch". But this does not occur in the English translation on page 176. This omission, along with the mistranslation in regard to the Diämpĕr Synod, [4] makes the usefulness of the translation, where matters of ecclesiastical controversy are concerned, rather doubtful. This observation does not in any way belittle the great value of Mr. Galletti's

[3] Professor J. van Kan, formerly Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Batavia, during his visit to Madras, expressed agreement with the present writer's views on the untenability of the insertion 'back' by the translators.

[4] See Chapter XVII *infra*.

monumental work. It abounds in foot notes written with erudition and scrupulous fairness. To English-speaking readers, the English translations of these Dutch *Memoirs* are useful, not only for the information furnished about Malabar in Dutch times, but also for the help rendered for the study of the vocabulary and usage of Middle Dutch and the translation of the same into modern English.

The *Pătăppăttŭ* [5] (the war song), is a seventeenth century Malayalam poem describing the Dutch capture of the Portuguese forts in Malabar and was brought out by the Travancore Government in the *Sri Mūlam Granthāvali* series (1924) with a learned introduction by the eminent scholar, Ollur S. Parameswara Iyer. The introduction describes the circumstances in which the Dutch were invited to Cochin by a branch of the Cochin Royal family whom the Portuguese had dispossessed. The poem is a contemporary work dealing graphically with the incidents of the war, and is of very great value as a confirmation of the European writings or records. In the body of the poem a Syrian Christian scribe claims to be the author of the poem. The Editor believes that the author could only have been a Hindu because of the dedication of the work to *Sarasvati*; but this criticism need not perhaps be taken seriously as such dedication was a literary convention of the day, and Syrian Christians, it is known, usually respected such conventions.[6] Whosoever the author was, both the poem and editorial preface throw much light on the history of the period.

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[5] The writer must express his gratitude to Mr. R. Vasudeva Puduval, Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore, for having drawn his attention to this book.

[6] Until recently, Syrian Christian children began reading and writing in the following manner. The teacher, even when a Christian, held the child's right hand and made him trace, on rice or fine sand spread on the floor of the school room in front of the child, with the right fore-finger, the letters "*Hari Sree*" which are the beginning of an invocation to Hindu gods. Sometimes, the whole invocation "*Hari Sree Ganapataye Namah Avighnamastu*" was written down.

Mr. K. M. Panikkar's "Malabar and the Dutch", (published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1931.) the third book to appear on the subject in point of time, is well-written and forms a welcome addition to the slender stock of the available literature on a picturesque past; but the author confesses that, owing to the shortness of his stay in Holland, he was not able to make full use of the material available at the Hague. In fact, he has ignored even the large mass of Dutch sources available in print. Much less has he used the materials of the 1400 volumes of manuscript records at Madras. The main body of his narrative is based on the English translations of the *Memoirs* of the two Commandeurs of Malabar, included in Galletti's 'The Dutch in Malabar'. Though Van Rheede's *Memoir* has since been published, Mr. Panikkar has made no use of it. Some references are made to the *Tripoonithura Granthavali*, Hague Transcripts, and some Malayalam poems. Comparatively discredited writers like Tavernier and Day are taken a trifle too seriously. There are, however, some interesting chapters like those on the rise and expansion of Travancore and on the condition of Malabar during Dutch times which bring out the author's brilliant powers of exposition. The author writes with a half-concealed regret at the disappearance of the anarchy caused by the turbulent Nayar nobility. In fact, the central thesis of Mr. Panikkar is that there was in Malabar a well-established polity which was predominantly Nayar in character and that this disappeared during the period. There seems to be an undue emphasis on certain aspects of history in these views. Mr. Panikkar ignores the military importance of the Syrians. Guovea's writings show that the Syrians had a military position equal to that of the Nayars, and there were Syrian Panikkars[7] or fencing masters.

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[7] Some Syrian families still retain the title *Panikkar*.

Herport,[8] a contemporary Dutch writer, also speaks of the great military importance of the Syrians.

Mr. Panikkar's exposition of Dutch commercial policy in Malabar, i. e., the attempt to compel princes to sell pepper to them alone, and at low prices, is however unassailable. The rise of Travancore led to the breakdown of that policy. The author brings out, in forcible language, the abject subordination of Cochin to the Dutch. He rightly denies that the Dutch were ever the paramount power in Malabar although such aims were really cherished by them. The author is also quite fair in his judgment of the character of the Dutch, their attitude towards the Malayālis, and some beneficial aspects of their influence on Malabar life and culture. He rightly deplores that a fatality apparently dogged Malabar in her attempts to attain political unity ; but he does not explain how the Dutch Company became an obstacle to such unity. However, by the Treaty of Mavelikara, 1753, the Dutch allowed Travancore to absorb a good many of the small states, and part of Cochin itself. Cochin did not obtain the amount of protection she expected from the Dutch. But at the same time it was the fear of the Dutch Company which prevented the entire absorption of the Cochin and Calicut kingdoms by Travancore. But for the Dutch, Mārtāndavarma could, as already stated, have at one stroke solved the problem of the unification of Kerala by making himself the sole ruler of the Malayalam-speaking country.

It may be pointed out that the learned author's criticism of the character and aims of Mārtāndavarma have to be challenged. For instance, that monarch's slaying, in self-

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[8] Herport's narrative occurs in the *Reisebeschreibungen von Deutschen Beampten und kriegsleuter im Dienst der Niederlandischen Westund oost-Indischen Kompagnien* (Description of the journeys of Dutch officers and soldiers in the service of the Dutch West and East India Companies).

defence, his predecessor's son might be sad but certainly not unjust; for we must recognise that the attempt of the latter to discard the usages of a matrilineal society and seat himself on his father's throne was clearly a revolutionary procedure and the unsuccessful revolutionary has in all ages to pay for his failure. Similarly, in the light of the amount of trouble which the *Ettu Veettil Pillamār* are supposed to have given him, Martandavarma could not be expected to show them any clemency. This ruler's utilisation of Tamil Brahmin brain power and of Maravan physical force is anathema with Mr. Panikkar, but it is not clear why such aid should have been rejected in an hour of extreme peril and need. The author is, however, on sure ground when he says that Travancore's appeal for Muhammadan aid brought its own nemesis in the subsequent Mysorean attack. This book does not attempt to give a comprehensive account of the administration, finances, and historical development of the Dutch Commandeury of Malabar. Only a certain number of incidents are selected and brilliantly commented on. Despite its lucid presentation the book does not cover much new ground and leaves big gaps. There is an error on page 107 where Cochin, instead of Ayakotta, is mentioned as having been sold to Travancore.

Sources The present narrative is largely based on original sources and on standard Dutch works which make extensive use of the sources which are not available in India:

(1) The most important source of the Asiatic activities of the Dutch East India Company is the Batavia Diary (*Dagh-Register, gehouden int Casteel Batavia*) (Batavia-Hague, 1887-1931, edited by J. A. van der Chijs). It is a chronicle wherein were noted minutely, from day to day, the noteworthy events which happened at Batavia and the news which reached Batavia from the different quarters of the world. A number of documents the originals of which have

been lost are preserved in this chronicle either literally or by way of extracts. It also records a number of facts which are known only through the entry in this Diary. The series begins from 1624, and covers the entire length of the period chosen for this study. Some notable volumes like those of 1660, 1662 and 1667 are missing. But the existing volumes give considerable information on the story of the Dutch in Malabar. Many important treaties are recorded *in extenso.* The abstracts given in these volumes of despatches from Malabar and the accounts of the voyages of Van Goens, the conqueror of Malabar, and of Dutch commercial and political activities following the conquest of Malabar are very important.

(2) J. E. Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum. Verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door de Nederlanders in het oosten gesloten van privilege-brieven aen hen verleend enz.* (Body of Treaties of the Dutch East India Company—Collection of political contracts and further agreements concluded in the East and of letters of privilege granted to them, etc.), Volume I (1596-1650), (S. Gravenhage, 1907), volume II (1650-75), 1931; Stapel F. W. do. do; vol. III (1676-91), 1934. This is a collection of Dutch treaties in the East Indies. Heeres took, as the basis of his publication, the treaty books of the Chamber Amsterdam,[9] amplified by the collection in the Chamber Zeeland and prepared from the accounts of the treaties given in the Letters received from India which are kept at the *Rijks archief* (Imperial Record Office). The Record Office at Batavia was also consulted. This collection contains

[9] When the different East India Companies of the Dutch were amalgamated into the united Company, each area which formerly set up a Company was called a Chamber. It was decided that voting power should be divided into four units: 1. Amsterdam, 2. Zeeland, 3. The Chambers of the Maes and 4. Those of the North West quarter. Each unit had one vote. Thus, Amsterdam and Zeeland had more influence than the others in the Company.

several documents dealing with Malabar. The introductions to these treaties generally furnish very valuable summaries of the Dutch transactions of the period.

(3) J. A. van der Chijs: *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakkaat Boek* (proclamation or Edict Book of the Dutch East Indies), 1602-1811; 17 volumes, Batavia, 1885-'91. This is a collection of the Decrees of the Supreme Government of Batavia during the administrations of the successive Governors-General. Some of them give valuable information about the social, political, commercial and religious conditions of the Dutch in Malabar.

(4) *Reisebeschreibungen von Deutschen Beamten and Kriegsleuten im Dienst der Niederlandischen west-und ost-Indischen Kompagnien* (Description of the Journeys of Dutch Officers and Soldiers in the service of the Dutch West and East India Companies), 1601 to 1797, by S. P. l' Honore Naber. Volume V of this collection, edited by Albrecht Herport, gives an account of the voyages to India and is useful as a further source for the accounts of the victorious expedition of Van Goens to Malabar.

(5) J. K. J. de Jonge: *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in oost Indie* (Rise of the Dutch power in East India), The Hague, 13 Volumes, 1862 to 1888. References to India are scanty in these volumes; but the earlier volumes of this series contain some account of Dutch dealings with Malabar princes.

(6) Philippus Baldaeus: *Naukeurige beschryvinge van Malabar, Choromandel en het eyland Ceylon, nevens een ontdekking van de afgoderye der oost Indische Heydenen en een Malabaarsche spraak-komst.* (Description of Malabar, Coromandel and Ceylon, besides a survey of the idolatory of the East Indian Heathens and a Malayalam grammar), Amsterdam, 1672. (English translation in Churchill's voyages,

Vol. III, 1745.) The author who was born at Delft in 1632 was a clergyman. He accompanied Van Goens as his field chaplain during his expedition to Malabar. His book which has been consulted both in the original and the English translation contains accounts of the Dutch conquest of Malabar.

(7) Johan Nieuhof: *Zee-en-lant Reize* (Sea and Land Journey), 1682. Nieuhof served in Malabar. He was a member of the party which accompanied Van Goens to Malabar and was subsequently Captain of Quilon. He gives full accounts of the capture of Quilon and of the treaties with several Malabar princes. There is a translation in Churchill's Collection.

(8) J. Canter Visscher: 'Letters from Malabar', (English translation by Major Drury, Madras, 1862). Visscher was chaplain at Cochin from 1717 to 1723. These letters have also been edited and elaborately commented on by Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon in his History of Kerala—4 volumes—1924, 1929, 1933, and 1937. These *Letters* contain a detailed description of the Coast of Malabar and of Dutch policy in that region.

(9) Foster: *English Factories.* (Oxford, Clarenden Press, 1906-1936.) This Calendar of despatches from the English East India Company's servants in India contains useful references to the activities of the Dutch in Malabar, and serves as a corrective to the Dutch accounts.

(10) *Officieel Afschrift Van Het oorspronkelijk Gedenkschrift geschreven in 1677 A. D. door Hendrik Adriaan Van Rheede* (Official copy of the original *Memoir* written in 1677 A.D. by Hendrik Adriaan Van Rheede—Dutch Records No. 14, Madras Government Press, 1911). The value of this Memoir is fully brought out in a later chapter. It practically covers the period, 1663 to 1678.

(11) The Memoirs of Gollenesse and Moens translated in Galletti's book. Though dealing with a later period, these contain references to anterior conditions which are also useful.

(12) Dutch treaties with the native princes of the Eastern Archipelago in English-Manuscript No. 1760 of the Imperial Record Office, now in the Madras Record Office (23375. 118). This is a good summary of Dutch treaties with Indian princes, the originals of which are to be found in Heeres' and Stapel's Collections. It was translated from the original records in the archives of Batavia under the supervision of Lieut-Col. Mackenzie, President of the Commission on Java affairs at Serampore, and revised at Madras (1815).

(13) Tavernier's 'Travels', edited by Crooke, and Henry Van Quellenburgh's *Vindiciae Batavica* (Defence of the Dutch). The latter is a refutation of the charges made by Tavernier against the Dutch Company with regard to their treatment of Portuguese prisoners taken at Cochin and a vindication of their monopoly as also a justification of their religious policy.

(14) *The Pătăppăttu* already mentioned.

Among historical works by Dútch authors the following may be noted.

(1) Macleod, N. *De oost-indische Compagnie als zeemogendheid in Azie* (The East India Company as maritime power in Asia), 1602 to '50. Two Vols. and Atlas. Rijswijk, 1927. This work is substantially based on the books containing the reports, statements, resolutions and other writings kept by the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, and now preserved in the Record Room at Gravenhage. Macleod's book gives a detailed statement of the Company's activities in various parts of Asia during

the first half of the seventeenth century. The references to Malabar are not numerous but there are a few interesting pieces of information relevant to our subject, not easily obtained otherwise.

(2) Macleod, N. *Eerste Ontmoetingen van de Franschen en Hollanden in Indie* (The first Encounter of the French and the Dutch in India). Macleod gives, from original sources, an account of the encounter between the two nations, among other places, on the Malabar Coast also.

(3) J. J. Meinsma: *Geschiedenis Van De Nederlandsche oost-Indische Bezittingen* (History of the Dutch East India Company's Possessions) Delft. Joh. Ijkema, 1872. This book gives a lucid history of the Dutch Company which serves as a useful introduction to the study of the subject.

(4) *Rijcklof Van Goens* by Dr. J. Aalbers (The Groningen Bij J. B. Wolters' U. M. 1916). Besides information connected with the hero of the book, the author also gives a good account of the origin and organization of the Dutch East India Company.

Among English works dealing with the subject may be mentioned the account on the Dutch in India by Professor P. Geyl in Chapter II, Vol. V of the Cambridge History of India (Cambridge University Press, 1929), Anderson's "*Historical and Chronological Deduction of the origin of commerce*" (1764), Bruce's "*Annals of the East India Company*" (1810), Edmundson: "*Anglo Dutch Rivalry*", Balakrishna: "*Commercial relations between India and England*" and Moreland: "*From Akbar to Aurangzebe*" (1923).

The following books of reference have been consulted.

(1) *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie onder redactie* van S. de Graff, J. Paulus en D. G. Stibbe. 1917—1935.

(2) *Priangan De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811 door De Haan.* This book among other things contains a glossary of Portuguese words occurring in contemporary Dutch documents.

(3) *Middel Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek bewerkt door J. Verdam* (S. Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1913). This book is helpful for the interpretation of Middle-Dutch words.

(4) *Engelsch Handwoordenboek door Dr. F. P. H. Prick Van Wely* (1929). This gives the English meaning of modern Dutch words.

(5) Kan, J. van, *Compagnies-Ceocheiden en aanverwante archivalia ir Britsch-Indië en op Ceylon*—1931. This is a report of an examination undertaken in 1929–30 by the author in India and Ceylon by order of the Dutch Governor-General of the East Indies.

CHAPTER IV

MALABAR ON THE EVE OF THE DUTCH CONQUEST

Political Geography of Malabar The state of Malabar when the Dutch conquered important settlements from the Portuguese is well brought out in Van Rheede's *Memoir* [1] and other Dutch writings. Malabar, as already remarked, was one of the four regions in the mainland of India which were the theatres of Dutch activity in mid-seventeenth century (Galletti and Moreland). The word "*Malabar*" as used in Dutch documents embraces a larger area than the present administrative district of that name in the Madras Presidency. The 'Malabar' of the Dutch is practically equivalent to Kērala, which is a dialectal variation of Chēra, and seems generally to have been applied only to the coastal territory of the ancient Chēra kingdom. The name *Kērala* probably came into use after the Chēra

[1] The memoir of Van Rheedes Commandeur of Malabar, written in 1677 for the use of his successor, is one of the earliest of the Dutch documents of Malabar now in print. Van Rheede was one of the ablest Dutch officials of his time. He had distinguished himself when the Dutch first stormed the palace at Cochin. He was the author of the *Hortus Malabaricus*, the Botany of Malabar, one of the most magnificent Botanical works ever published, running into twelve volumes and containing 794 illustrations. In 1670 he was appointed Commandeur of Cochin as being an able and efficient officer particularly well versed in the affairs of Malabar and subsequently rose to higher positions. He lies buried in Surat (Galletti, p. 49.) This memoir was not available in a decipherable form when Galletti wrote. Hence some facts about the political and ethnological condition of Malabar mentioned therein are given *in extenso* in this narrative.



SOUTH KERALA (1603-78)

territory on the western side of the Ghats became politically separated from that on the other side. The states of Travancore and Cochin and the Madras district of Malabar which together make up Kērala were denoted in the seventeenth century by the term 'Malabar', and the states of Cochin and Travancore are still considered as parts of Malabar in the larger sense. The antiquity of Kērala or Malabar is attested to by the occurrence of the name 'Kērala' in Asoka's pillar Edicts Nos. 2 and 13, as also by its mention in ancient Sanskrit literature. The connection of Kērala with Rome is evident from the fact that the Roman coin *Pattak* has been found in Kērala.

Malabar Defined According to Baldaeus, Malabar began about fifty miles south of Goa, and extended to Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India. The Dutch Commandeury of Malabar included in it lands outside Malabar proper as well. But for ordinary purposes Dutchmen understood Malabar as the land lying between Cape Comorin and Mount Delli, a conspicuous isolated hill, or rather cluster of hills, forming the promontory some sixteen miles north of Cannanore.[2] It is described as a region full of rivers navigable but not deep enough to allow passage to heavily-laden ships. The chief rivers were those of *Badagara* where the pirates had their residence; the *Ponnani*; and the *Cranganore* river which divided the Cochin and the former Calicut kingdoms. These, like the Cochin river, were, at high tide, about 18 or 19 feet deep.[3] Vissher noted the fact that numerous water-courses broke up the low-lying coast from Kāyamkulam to Ponnāni, and that the coast of Quilon was steep and rocky, or rather merely a rock covered with a stratum of soil, so that it seemed as if it had never been under water like the rest of Malabar (Letter I). The Dutch

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[2] vide page 14 of Padmanabha Menon's History of Kerala, Vol. I, Visscher's Letter I and explanation.

[3] Baldaeus, page 99, column 1.

writers note that the staple products of Malabar were pepper and cardamom. Although Cochin produced much pepper, the heaviest crop was obtained, we are told, at Cannanore. Muhammadan merchants used to come there formerly from the Carnatic, Bijapur and other regions and trafficked in the goods by land routes. Baldaeus says (p. 99) that the Calicut pepper was smaller in grain and less in quantity than that of Cannanore and Cochin. The Dutch writer also observes that the whole land abounded in fish and other food-stuffs. The cocoanut, with its refreshing juice, was well appreciated. Malabar was obviously a most attractive land for the Dutch.

Traditional Origin of the Malabar States and their distribution According to local tradition, the whole of Malabar was once ruled by a king who had his residence at Calicut where the Zamorin later on ruled, and the last ruler of Malabar proceeded to Mecca to visit the grave of Muhammad to be further instructed in that religion; but he perished on his return journey, and his kingdom was divided into three portions, Cannanore, Calicut and Cochin. Another tradition would give Travancore also a place in the list. Baldaeus mentions that, in his day, Malabar consisted chiefly of the following five independent kingdoms:—Cannanore; Calicut; Cranganore; Cochin; and Coilan (Quilon). In addition to these there were, he says, Travancore, which was the most unfruitful in Malabar; Porca (Ambalapuzha); and Caleculang (Kayamkulam). A fuller list is given by Van Rheede in his memoir of 1677. This memoir begins with the names of landed estates of the princes and landlords dwelling in Malabar. The list is tedious and uninteresting unless accompanied by a map. The writer prefaces his long list with the remark that he was assured that there were several princes of Malabar possessing considerable landed estates and exercising complete dominion whose names he had not heard. He goes on to say that

over the land of Malabar, which extended from Cape Comorin to Canara, four great and suzerain princes or kings ruled paramount over others viz. Travancore,[4] Cochin, the Zamorin and Colasteri (Kolattiri).

A. The States of Southern Kerala

(1) *Travancore.* The king of Travancore ruled over the lands from Cape Comorin to Porca (Purakkad where there was an English factory when the Dutch took Cochin). Under him ruled the princes of Attingal, Signatty, Peretalie, Elladeswarupam, Marta, Carembalii, Ponnapolie and Calicoilan (Kayamkulam). Attingal was the mother-stock to which the princes of Travancore had to belong, either by birth or selection. The Princess of Attingal ruled the land lying between Tengapatanam and Parur, three miles to the south of the fortress of Quilon, besides extensive regions situated inland. The ruler of Signatty (Desinganad: Quilon) was descended from the dynasty of Travancore through a younger sister. It comprised the land from Paroe (Parur) to Carnapoeli (Karunagapalli). The region was divided between three chiefs.[5] The first of these was the Queen of Signatty; the second the Pillai of 'Beriat', and the third, the 'Kurup' of Travancore. These ruled absolutely. Peritalie belonged to the third sister of Attingal.

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[4] In Kerala Society's papers Series I, page 6, M. Rajarajavarma mentions the names of Travancore sovereigns of the period as Ravi Varma Kulasekhara (1610-62), Rama Varma (1662-71) and Aditya Varma (1671-77). Travancore takes its names from *Tiruvankote* in Kalkulam taluk, 1½ miles west of Kalkulam town. A later form of the name is Tiruvitankote (Tiruvitankote: Tiru-ayam-kote i.e., the 'corner or village of the holy cowherd—Sri Krishna). Travancore is the Europeanised form of this name. *Truppattur* in Chirayinkil Taluk, 11 miles south-east of Attingal, has a celebrated temple with *tiruppadem* or the holy feet of Vishnu. The Travancore sovereigns have to be crowned at this temple. (Kerala Society's papers)

[5] "Coilan is divided into three governments *i.e.*, the Queen of Chenganat one half; the Pulla de Barriet, one quarter, the other last quarter to the king of Travancore who hath allwayes his deputy residing there" p. 352 of Foster's English Factories, 1661-64 volume (Oxford: 1925.)

It was ruled by a prince who controlled the lands situated behind Quilon up to the mountains. By adoption it was at the time brought under the same ruler as that of Kayamkulam. It had no territory on the sea coast. Elladeswaroopam (Kottarakkara) was situated between Travancore and the Madura territory. It fell to Travancore by inheritance. The king of Travancore governed and ruled over it throgh his princes. The ruler of Elladeswaroopam was likewise descended from a sister of Attingal. Marta or Carnapoly lay between the river of Quilon or 'Ajbike'[6] (Ashtamudi) and the village of Alleppey. It extended along the coast in the Calicoilan kingdom projecting forward landwards with many inlets and was under the authority of Signatty and Calicoilan. Calicoilan, stretching from Panderatoerty in the south to the lands of Trikunnapuzha ragiam in the north and embracing an extensive area landward, was bounded by Tekkenkur, Madura and Elladeswaroopam. Betimene (Venmani) or Carimbali was situated beyond the river which separated this land from the sea, and had a small territory to the interior. It lay between the northern portion of Kayamkulam and the southern portion of Porca (Purakkad or Ambalapuzha). Trikunnapuzha, whose king was a mighty ruler of high birth, had a small bit of land between Kayamkulam and Porca. It was surrounded landward by Betimene and Porca; Pannapolie situated inland behind Kayamkulam, on the death of its ruler, fell to the kingdom of Kayamkulam. These four dynasties and principalities were called by a single name, Tscherreway. They were descended, says Van Rheede, from the four daughters

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[6] Aiwike. The Aioi, according to Professor McCrindle, occupied the southern parts of Travancore. The entrance to the backwater at Kalikoulam is called the Great Aybicca Bar and an entrance further south, the little Aybicca Bar. The river which proceeds past Kallada discharges itself into the sea towards the south, not far from the town of Aybicca. At this place, the King of Travancore caused small ships to be built from time to time and in general gave employment to a great number of seamen. Padmanabha Menon: *History of Kerala* Vol. I pp. 292–93.

of a woman progenitor. In course of time they had become separated owing to the deaths of various members. Two of these were under the Raja of Calicoilan and were known as Coycoylette and Parnapoli; and the other two, known as Marthakulangara and Carimbali, were under the then Raja of Betimene. This last was subsequently placed under the prince of Travancore who enjoyed the name of Potector. Princes and heirs from those lands were willing to join the military forces of Travancore.

All the above-mentioned provinces stood in pre-Dutch times under the supremacy of the Raja of Travancore otherwise called Trippapaswarupam although at the time when Van Rheede wrote the latter had very little real authority.

Tekkenkur was an independent kingdom with a considerable area and a large populatian. It was situated on the side of the inland lake usually called broad river (and now known as Vembanad Kayal). It was bounded on the south by Kayamkulam and Achancoil (also an independent princedom situated in the mountains) and to the north by the principality of Vatakkumkur.

(2) *Cochin.* The second of the four kingdoms referred to by Van Rheede was Cochin. The Raja of Cochin, the second king of South Malabar, ruled over a large extent of land. There were many princes, says Van Rheede, who showed him honour and were bound to offer him help in war as well as in council. They were (1) the Raja of Porca on the sea coast, situated on the north of Pagodinka (Trikkunnapuzha) stretching from there northward to the region of Muttam (Moutan). This kingdom was bounded landwards by Betimene, Calicoilan, Tekkenkur and Vatakkumkur. (2) Moutan or Ellertaswaroopam, a kingdom which fell to Cochin by inheritance. It lay just north of Porca and extended as far as the free manor of Palloertie next to which the town of Cochin was situated. This region of

Moutan was separated from the uplands on the east by a river and 'the great lake.' Here began (3) Vatakkumkur which was bounded in the west by the river and the lands of Moutan; in the east by the lands and mountains of Madura or Pandy, in the south by Tekkenkur and in the north by Coeroernadu. (4) Coeroernadu, which had been inherited by Cochin on the death of a previous ruler, was of great importance. It was situated wholly in a mountainous area and extended eastward to the dominions of the seven madambis or barons and in the west over against the city of Cochin. It was the land next to the Dutch settlement and was commonly called Anjikaimal.[7] It ran southwards against Vatakkumkur and northwards against Repolim (Idapalli) Parvur (Parur) and Mangatty (Alangad). (5) Parur, a kingdom like Porca having Brahmins as kings, lay south of the river of Cranganore, separated from the sea in the west by the island of Bypeen. It was bounded in the east by the lands of Paliath and the kingdom of Mangatty (Alangad). (6) Mangatty[8] (Alangad) to the east

[7] The word Anjikaimal means five chiefs. The Ernakulam District Court is still officially called Anjikaimal District Court. This clearly indicates that the name stands for the locality about Ernakulam. In the Dutch manuscripts Anjikaimal denotes both a place and a person, probably the most important of the Five Kaimals or chiefs. "The only surviving family", says Achyuta Menon, "is that of Cheranallur Karta, whose seat is in a village of the same name five miles to the north of Ernakulam. It still owns extensive landed property" (vide Cochin State Manual). In the time of Gollenesse (1733-43) the Anjikaimals were oppressed by the king of Cochin because they lay in the heart of his territory and right opposite his palace on the other side of the river. A Dutch police force was stationed in the bazaar of Anjikaimal (probably the Ernakulam bazaar). This fertile land was looked upon as the store-house of Cochin. The five leading houses were Cherally (Cheranallur), Cunnattunadu, Palurgatte (probably Pallarvattam near Ernakulam), Corumalicur and Badarcur. (Gollenesse, translated in Galletti, page 60).

[8] The present Ayurvedic pharmacy at Kottappuram two miles west of the Union Christian College, Alwaye, is situated in grounds originally occupied by the palace of the rulers of Alangad. The present courtyard was formed by levelling the old tank of the kings. The family enjoys a Travancore pension and is living at Chengamanad in the neighbourhood. One of its members runs a Middle School at Alwaye.

of Cranganore lay to the south of Chenotty and Parur. It lay wholly in the mountains and was bounded in the north by the lands of Corretty, Ambalagatty and Colligure Kaimal. (7) Bypeen, the island situated between the rivers of Cochin and Cranganore, belonged to Cochin and several minor chiefs. (8) Cranganore or Padinjattu Coil lay along the sea in the west, and was bounded in the east by the lands of Murianattu Nambiyar, in the north along the sea side by the lands of Coederatta Nair under the Zamorin and on the land side by Ballenge or Airur. (9) Airur, the dynasty of the Rajas of Cranganore, was bounded by the Padinjattu Coil in the south and Murianattu and other lands under the sway of Cochin in the east.

B. The States of Northern Kerala We have thus far dealt with the states of Southern Kerala as given by Van Rheede. We now pass on to the northern kingdoms mentioned by the same authority.

(1) *The Zamorin* was the third king of Malabar and had no smaller authority than the other kings. His kingdom began from Cranganore in the south with the province of Oeneterrie and ended at the river Kottakal. Within this area lived seven subordinate princes whose names will be found in the Appendix.[9]

(2) *Colastri or Colettanadu* (*Kolattiri*) was the fourth king of Malabar, and had a great territory beginning from Kottakal under the Zamorin in the south and ending with Nilisaram in the north on the border of Kanara. Under him were several subordinate principalities whose names will also be found in the Appendix.

Three Important Towns Three important towns in Malabar come in for special mention in Van Rheede's

9 The kingdoms subordinate to Travancore and Cochin are mentioned in the body of the text as these are the states with which the Dutch were mainly concerned during the period covered by the present study.

memoir. The first of these is Porca or Purakkad. It had a lodge situated close to the sea and occupied by English merchants at the time of the Dutch conquest of Malabar forts. The land around Porca produced pepper, ginger, cinnamon, areca and wood works but mostly the *anjili*[10] tree. The Dutch commander at Porca was answerable to Cochin. The place was, when Van Rheede wrote, in charge of Hans Philip Justus, a diligent and sober youth. (2) Cotati (Kottayam)[11] was under Tekkenkur. Here the Dutch children learned the Malayalam language under the supervision of the teacher Christopher Kirghbergh who also helped interpreters of the Dutch nation in due course to make progress in Malayalam. The town of Kottayam was of great use to the Tekkenkur Rajas. (3) Cochin. The town had been completely provided by the Dutch company with new moats, stone walls, ramparts, points, ditches etc. It became the headquarters of the Commandeur of Malabar who exercised authority and protection over all the Christians.

Omission of Travancore in Herport's Narrative Van Rheede's memoir was written in 1677. It is worthy of note that Travancore which, from its geographical position in the extreme south, is mentioned first in Van Rheede's list does not occur in the list of Malabar states mentioned by Herport in his earlier narrative. According to the latter, the coast of Malabar included the kingdoms and provinces between Goa and Cape Comorin. The first of the coast kingdoms mentioned by him is that of Canara including "Wingurla, Hanawar, Barcelor and Mangalo". This may however be excluded in our study of Malabar as belonging to a different linguistic area. The purely Malayalam kingdoms mentioned by Herport are those of Cannanore where

[10] *Anjili* is a well known Malabar tree used for building purposes. It also produces a delicious fruit.

[11] This is different from Kottayam, the name of a taluk in North Malabar. The town under reference is the present headquarters of the Kottayam Division in Travancore.

several foreigners engaged in foreign trade dwelt, Calicut and Ponnani under the Zamorin, the greatest Malabar king, whose kingdom flourished because of its great trade, Cranganore, small but populous, Cochin, Porca, Calicoilan and Quilon. It may be surmised that Travancore is not specifically mentioned among the chief states as it was probably identified with Coilan because of the close relations of the rulers.

Portuguese Possessions on the Malabar Coast At the commencement of the seventeenth century the Portuguese still possessed important places on the Malabar coast. At Oner and Barcelor in Canara they had forts and traded in pepper, ginger and drugs. They had also the fortified trading stations of Mangalore and Cannanore. They were quite shut from Calicut and harassed at Cranganore, yet they had the strong city and castle of Cochin which possessed a considerable trade and was favourably situated. They had also Coilan (Quilon) well fortified and mostly filled with Portuguese, both laity and clergy (Bruce).

APPENDIX

I. *Kingdoms subordinate to the Zamorin :*

(1) Oeneterrie, having his lands behind Cranganore up to the river *Chetwai* in the north, the lands of Belloasse Nambiyar and Panbemokatte Kaimal under 'Cochin to the east, and the sea to the west. (2) Palengieri Nayar's land extended along the sea from Chetwai in the south to the river *Ponnani* in the north and was occupied in the east by the Cochin princes, Aynacoetty, Manaclatta, Celette (Cacata) and sjitul Nambooris. (3) Bettatte Coil lay along the sea from the river Ponnani in the south and ended against the lands of the baron Bamenade Karee (Kande). Out of the house of Bettatte were the kings of Cochin called to the throne in place of the Moothathavazhi. (4) Paroepa Coil extended from the river Caragondi in the south along the sea stretching forth to the lands of the Raja Repoe Coil in the north being in the east bounded by the lands of Ayende and Payenade. (5) Repoe Coil, bounded in the south by the lands of Paroepa Coil, ran in the north against the lands of Tameracherri and Calicut, the dynasty of the Zamorin kings, and was surrounded by it. This was also named Conde or Conaderie or

Eerenadecare. (6) Tamaracherri, situated to the south of Calicoe or Calicut, had on its north the lands of Grimgal Namboory. Along the sea-coast it marked the extreme limits of the Zamorin. (7) Grimgal Namboory, a spiritual lordship, was bounded by the limits of Balenoer under Colasteri and in the north extended to the river of Kottakal or Cunjale. Under this Raja dwelt the leading pirates.

2. *Principalities subordinate to Kolattiri :*

(1) Balenoer which streched from the river Kottakal in the south along the sea to the river Dermapatam in the north had likewise several robber nests under his dominion as Tjitrambirrie, Berregare, Moetingal, T'Sjombay and Majelle (Mahe). His lands ran to the east to the territory of the mighty baron Parreveacoil. (2) Parreveacoil lay to the east of Balenoer. It was bounded in the south by the lands of the Zamorin and the mountain lords of Cardamom lands and ended in the south-east to the frontier of the Naick of Mysore and the Cochin landlord Terroertecke Nayar on the frontier of Madura. (3) Dermapatam, Cannanore, Welliapatnam, and Maravy situated northward along the sea of Balenoer were under the Colasteri's own hereditary dominion which were bordered on the landside by the mountain princes (*a*) Tellicherry Moeta Nayar who had his lands to the east of Dermapatam (His lands ran behind the lands of Colastery to behind the territory of the fortress of Cannanore and shut in the north against Rsjonette Terre Kaimal). (*b*) Tsjonette Terre Kaimal whose lands were bounded on the north by Allertelarre Kaimal and on the east by Pareveacoil and the lands of Nilisaram. (*c*) Alleteterre Kaimal who had his frontier on the west behind the river Welliapatnem and the north against Allerta Addavoddy and in the east against Coddegemalli (Coorg) or the territory of Mysore. (4) Allerte Addevody closes the kingdom of Colastry in the north with Nilisaram against the frontiers of Canara and in the east with the mountains against Coambaddy belonging to the Naick of Mysore. This Nilisaram was the port by which the present coast of Malabar (which for the most part has identity of language, customs, manners and laws) was separated from other regions.

CHAPTER V

EARLY DUTCH CONTACT WITH MALABAR

Malabar Politically Transformed during the Dutch period From a perusal of the foregoing chapters it will be seen that the political geography of Malabar at the close of the eighteenth century was far different from that of the mid-seventeenth century. The history of the intervening years showed the part played by the Dutch in the transformation of the Malabar of the seventeenth century, with its medley of petty states ever at feud with one another and dreading the Dutch power, into the Malabar of the closing years of the eighteenth century, consisting, as at present, of three divisions viz. one large Indian State in the south, a smaller Indian State in the middle, and a large Madras district in the north, in the first and third of which areas Dutch influence was nil, while in the second it was much against the will of the ruler fast coming to a close. After the arrival of the Dutch and as the result of their efforts to bring about the economic and political subjugation of the Malabar princes, there emerged eventually a spirit of independence on the part of one remarkable Malabar ruler who decisively stemmed the tide of Dutch aggression. The devastation of Malabar by Hyder Ali Khan of Mysore and his son Tippu Sultan hastened the end of Dutch influence in Malabar, while the rise and progress of the English brought the chapter to a close. The net result of the working of all these factors was the emergence of an

entirely different political order in Malabar, which is clearly reflected in the last of the Dutch Memoirs. These are matters which, from their range and importance, deserve to be narrated *in extenso* and, fortunately for the historian, there is no dearth of source material.

Beginning of Dutch contact with Malabar Though the capture of Portuguese strongholds in Malabar by the Dutch, grandiloquently spoken of by the latter as the conquest of Malabar, took place only in the seventh decade of the seventeenth century, the Dutch began to establish contact with Malabar as early as the opening years of that century. This was natural as Malabar was the first region in India where the Portuguese had landed and carried on trade. The Dutch, who wished to overthrow Portuguese dominion in India, could not afford to neglect the region where their influence was strongest. Though the Dutch Period in Malabar is supposed to begin only with 1663, the contact of individual Dutchmen with Malabar began from a much earlier date. The first Dutchmen who came to Malabar seem to have actually been in Portuguese service.

Earliest Dutch Visitors to Malabar Linschoten and Houtman are the first names known to us of Dutchmen who visited Malabar. Linschoten, who in a sense may be described as the originator of the Dutch commerce with India, sailed home from Cochin on the 25th January, 1589, after having stayed in Goa for five years as the Archbishop's Secretary. He was the author of the *Itinerario*, a diary of travels, which revealed the rottenness of the Portuguese colonial empire and the possibility of its being overthrown by an energetic rival. Houtman was a very intelligent Dutchman engaged for some years in the Portuguese service. He revealed to some merchants in Amsterdam the nature of the Portuguese commerce and the incalculable advantages they were deriving from the same. This led to

the foundation of a new company of merchants trading to distant parts i.e., *de Matschappy Van Vere.* Many companies now arose for trading with the East. One of these, the Middleburg Company, sent some merchants to the East, two of whom, Hans de Wolff and Lafer, heard at Surat from certain Malabar merchants that there were some places in Malabar like Tegaly (Tellicherry) where there were no Portuguese. Pepper, it was said, was available for a cheap price (25 rupees per para) and even a fort was available to the Dutch in Malabar if they dared to trade. At Calicut, however, the Dutch merchants were seized by the Portuguese, taken to Goa, and there hanged. Utterly unable to crush their rivals by force, the Spanish-Portuguese power used underhand methods. Thus the first attempt made by the Dutch to settle on the Malabar Coast was extremely unsuccessful.

The *Algemeen Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie* was formed on the 20th March 1602.

Dutch Visits to Calicut—Steven Van Der Hagen, 1603. Admiral Steven Van der Hagen who sailed under the orders of the new Company in 1603 was instructed to visit the west coast of India. He sought in vain for provisions at Cannanore. He left this place quickly at the request of the king who dared not needlessly expose himself to the vengeance of the Portuguese with whom his ancestors had been in alliance for more than a century. The Admiral cherished great expectations of a visit to Calicut, the ancient but deeply-decayed capital of the Zamorin, the irresistible enemy of the Portuguese power in Malabar. Calicut was famous for a marvellous abundance of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, turmeric, cocoanut, rice and different kinds of timber which were the principal sources of the country's wealth. A great store of precious stones of all sorts, except diamonds, a very fine collection of fabrics

which bore the name of Calicos and divers sorts of painted and patterned tapestry were exported from it. (Bal Krishna) The low duties (2½%) on sold goods, the absence of duties on unsold ones, and the excellent management of the Customs Department at Calicut, had elicited the admiration of all travellers. This was different, we are told, from what obtained in Coromandel states and Golconda. It was perfectly clear to the foreign merchants that, at Calicut, princes showed unusual anxiety, even at the sacrifice of the state revenues, in encouraging foreign merchants to trade in their country, and always took immediate steps to check abuses brought to their notice. Van der Hagen reached Calicut, the residence of the Zamorin, in October, 1604. The Dutch met with the most friendly reception at the hands of the Councillors of the Zamorin and the people. Portuguese hostility, however, was not lacking. Twenty Spanish-Portuguese frigates attacked the Dutch fleet, but were repulsed. The Admiral met the Zamorin near the village of Chettua.[1] Though the Dutch fleet was followed by the Portuguese, the Dutch cannon wrought havoc among the latter. The Admiral landed on the 11th November, 1604, and, shortly afterwards, entered into an agreement with the Zamorin, who is described as a grave man of about fifty years. The Zamorin received the Dutch with great kindness. The outcome of the meeting was that Steven Van der Hagen, in the name of the States General and His Royal Highness Maurice Prince of Orange, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Zamorin of Calicut.[2]

The Treaty with the Zamorin The treaty stipulated (1) a close alliance, eternal and unbreakable, for the oppres-

[1] Malabar and Anjengo, Vol. I, p. 451.

[2] De Jonge Vol. III, pages 9 and 26–31: Macleod Vol. I; Begin ende Voortgang Vol. II, page 7; Heeres; Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando Indicum Vol. I, page 30–31; and Dutch Treaties in Mackenzie MSS. page 121.

sion of the Portuguese, and for driving out all their associates out of all the lands of His Majesty, and also out of the whole of India.

(2) That with the next opportunity ships and people should be sent to trade at Calicut, and that merchants might be stationed there for that purpose. To effect this on the best opportunity a fortress should be built which should remain in the hands and dominion of the Dutch for all time.

(3) No peace should be made by either side with the Portuguese without the other being informed, and, if the other side found it oppressive, then the treaty of peace should not be entered into.

(4) The inhabitants of the Coast of Malabar south of Goa to Cape Comorin should not be permitted to set out on any navigation enterprise without having first received a passport from the Zamorin for the same, and, if anything was caught without such permit, it should be declared confiscated to the king.

Importance of the Treaty This alliance is important not so much for its subsequent effects as for the clearest indication that, from the very outset, India was not outside the orbit of Dutch activities. Van der Hagen's visit brought about the first political understanding between the Dutch and a ruling prince of India. The acquisition of military power, however, did not lie in the purposes of the Directors of the Company; and the fortress promised by the Zamorin does not seem to have been made available for the Dutch. However, the treaty illustrates the general lines of Dutch policy in the East, as also the pretensions of the Zamorin on the Malabar coast. The Dutch would ally themselves with Indian powers. They would act against the Portuguese, whose monopoly of Eastern trade they wanted to break.

On the other hand, the Zamorin was anxious to have his claims to sovereignty over the Malabar waters recognised by the newcomers.

Paulus Van Cærden at Calicut, 1607 The provisions of the above treaty were not complied with until Paulus Van Cærden appeared in Malabar in 1607 and confirmed the treaty. On the 1st of November the ship *Gelderland* came to Cannanore, and an arrangement was made with the local Raja. The latter said that the Portuguese had been there for about one hundred years, but never been good friends, and that they were false and could not be trusted. The Raja complained of much inconvenience from the Portuguese, and requested help for expelling them in return for obedience to Prince Maurice. On the 9th November, Cærden presented to the Zamorin a letter of Prince Maurice with a present of two fire-locks, a mirror, and other things. Cærden received a jewel of gold as large as a rix-dollar, inlaid with precious stones, and a golden chain which the Zamorin wore on his neck. The treaty of 1604 was renewed. English records, however, say that, while the Zamorin permitted the Dutch to have trade with his people, the Dutch refused to help him in his wars, resting contented with giving him good words and a present.[3]

Admiral Verhoff at Calicut, 1608 The next incident in the history of the Dutch contact with Malabar is the visit of Admiral Verhoff. He appeared at the road of Calicut on the 8th October, 1608. The Zamorin sent one of his chiefs to the Admiral to welcome him. The latter thereupon sent him certain presents.[4] The Admiral visited the

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[3] *Vide* Bantam letter of Gabriel Towerson to the East India Company dated 16-12-1607 in Foster's English Factories.

[4] Scarlet Cloth, some bunches of fine coral, six large crystal mirrors, two small metal guns, six beautiful firelocks, two beautiful muskets with tesselated stocks, a battle sword with a silver hilt and 200 mats, all in two chests, with yellow lac.

Zamorin in his palace. The Raja was seated and decorated most exquisitely with many jewels, and the heir of the Zamorin, a young prince, was standing by his side. The Zamorin received the Admiral with great friendliness and accepted the presents with much pleasure. The Zamorin took great delight in a large golden coin which had on it the image of Prince Maurice of Holland. When Verhoff noted this, he gáve the coin and its chain to the Zamorin.[5] In return for this the Admiral was given a gold ring with diamonds. Similar presents were also given to other members of the Dutch party. The party had also the honour of seeing the Zamorin's wife, mistresses, and children and thereafter departed greatly pleased. On the persistent request of the interpreter, further presents were sent by the Dutch in the shape of many pieces of scarlet cloth, 84 mats, one battle sword and one small gun through Simon Jansh Hoen who was presented with a golden ring. The Zamorin through his counsellors asked them to show their friendship and fulfil the treaty of 1604 by furnishing six ships—two to occupy Goa, two to occupy Cochin, and two to be in front of Calicut; he added that he would reinforce them with his ships against the Portuguese who were his enemies. The Admiral replied that he would have willingly done so, but his difficulties in the East were great. However, a treaty was concluded by the Admiral with the Zamorin on the 13th October, 1608. In it references were made to the treaty of 1604 which was confirmed. The Dutch promised to assist His Highness in expelling the Portuguese while His Highness engaged to protect and allow a free trade to the two ships expected from Bantam on payment of the same duties to which the inhabitants of the country were subject.[6]

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5 Francois Valentijn: Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie (Old and New East India), abridged by Keijzer, 1862.

6 Dutch Treaties, page 129. MSS, 23375. 118 of Madras Record Office.

In a letter written on the 18th October, 1608, to the senior merchant and delegate of the Company at Bantam, Admiral Verhoff stated that the Zamorin earnestly besought the Dutch ships to remain on the coast of Malabar. He promised free trade in his state and offered a beautiful store-house for storing Dutch goods and a lodge for the Dutch people so that a very good trade might be carried on there by the Dutch. But, in view of the fact that Malacca still belonged to the Portuguese and Ternate and Tidor had been captured by the Spaniards of Manilla, Verhoff and his companions felt that it was their duty to push on with the voyage to the south. However much the Zamorin might be offended at this, they did not desire anything more than his friendship and merely promised to send him some ships as soon as possible. They advised the Admiral very strongly that when two or three ships which were sufficient to keep the coast of Malabar against the Portuguese became available, these should be induced to go to Malabar, and a merchant sent to trade in Calicut. They should procure there for the United Company freedom from tolls and a further grant from the Zamorin. They also sent to His Excellency the contract made with the Zamorin and further besought the Admiral, upper merchant and other officers of the ships dwelling on land not to drop the matter but to follow it up enthusiastically. Jacques L'Hermite answered on the 19th November, 1608, that the advice to send two or three ships from Bantam could not be carried out as all the ships in that quarter were needed there. He added that he thought, subject to correction, that the Dutch trade in Malabar need not be developed as there was nothing but pepper of which they had already enough. There and in other places pepper was the foundation of all the trade. The expedition to Calicut, like the one to Mozambique, he said, was a blunder on the part of the Directors which resulted in the loss of the Moluccas.

Dutch Envoys from Coromandel at Calicut, 1610 Though the treaty with the Zamorin led to no results, the matter was not altogether dropped. When in 1610 three Dutch ships came to the coast of Coromandel, two envoys from Tirupapuliyur (Cornelis Jacobs Van Breekvelt and Hans Bullard) were sent overland to the Zamorin with the patent from His Princelike Excellency, a letter of Verhoff and one from the *Kleyne Sonne.* They took with them besides two Brahmins, an interpreter who was proficient in the Malabar, Malay, Portuguese and Moorish languages, and two coolies. They went on horseback on the 16th of May taking with them 114 pagodas for expenses. They returned probably on the 7th of October with a concluded treaty of which the important terms were that (1) The Dutch should have a place for building a lodge, (2) They should pay 2% toll on imports and exports, (3) The Portuguese should be resisted, and (4) All the merchants should have free trade with the Dutch.[7]

Van den Broecke at Calicut, 1616 The next occasion when a Dutchman of consequence visited Malabar was in 1616 when Van den Broecke who subsequently became famous as the Director of Western Quarters (including North and Western India, Persia and Arabia) touched Calicut under instructions from the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia. Van den Broecke has been described as a cautious gentleman of good breeding and a shrewd man of business. He had an interview with the son of the Zamorin, the latter being away fighting with Cochin. Three Englishmen who had been left behind by Keeling had given out that they were Dutchmen. The Zamorin's officers observing the trick of the Englishmen requested Van den Broecke to

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[7] The full text of this treaty is given by Heeres in *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando Indicum* Vol, I, page 544 No. 27 C; but the editor adds that the document was not dated and perhaps was only a draft. See Appendix.

leave behind real Dutchmen. On the coast of Malabar the *Nassau*, Van den Broecke's vessel, took a Portuguese vessel and brought it to Batavia. These events show that the Dutch were still engaged in active hostilities against the Portuguese and had not given up hopes of enlisting in their favour the support of the princes of Malabar.

The Cochin Raja invites the Dutch, 1618 The Rajas of Cochin who in their jealousy of the Zamorin had facilitated the establishment of the Portuguese at Cochin, and are therefore primarily responsible for the modern European conquest of India, had by this time begun to regret their action. In 1618 we find the Raja inviting the Dutch to visit his land assuring them that they would be always welcome in his land, and requesting the Dutch, then or later on, to drive out the Portuguese who were treating him harshly. Nearly half a century was to elapse before the Dutch felt inclined to pay serious attention to this matter. But the invitation clearly shows that the relations between the Portuguese and the Raja of Cochin had begun to be strained and the way was being opened for the overthrow of the Portuguese power in Malabar by the Dutch.

Anglo-Dutch Operations in Malabar Waters against the Portuguese, 1619 When the truce of Antwerp expired in 1621, the Dutch were again formally at war with the King of Spain and Portugal. The Dutch and English, having arrived at a mutual understanding by the treaty of 1619, now resolved to act in concert against the Portuguese in Malabar waters. A joint fleet was despatched in the autumn of 1621 under Admiral Dedell and Vice-Admiral Fitzherbert to blockade the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar coast. The Dutch undertook to provide five ships and two pinnaces while the English promised to send three ships and one pinnace. Specific instructions were given by the United Council of Defence at Batavia to Jacob Dedell,

Admiral, and Humphrey Fitzherbert, Vice-Admiral, of the squadron "ordained to sail for the coast of Malabar and Goa". "For disabling our common enemy's furtherance of trade on the coast of Malabar and restoration of the decayed Indian trade in the kingdom of Great Britain and the United Netherlands, the Council of United Defence has decided to despatch nine ships and two pinnaces, with 1139 men viz. 754 on the Dutch and 385 on the English vessels".[8] Dedell was made Admiral with his flag in the *Good Fortune* and Fitzherbert Vice-Admiral in the *Royal Exchange.* Administrative details were specified. The fleet was sent expressly "to close the Portugal's all the spoyle that may be and to destroy their carracks and gallions". They were advised to sail along the coast from Cape Comorin to Cochin and thence to Goa. A visit might be paid to Calicut to obtain information and to see whether the Zamorin was disposed to send a fleet of frigates to assist in attacking the Portuguese. But they were not to wait any time for the purpose as it was important to surprise the enemy if possible. With the end of the westerly monsoon, they were to return from Persia and Mozambique to the Malabar coast to wait for the carracks and continue the blockade. Although the main purpose of the fleet was to damage the Portuguese, opportunities for trade were not to be neglected. "If it should happen that any of those kings would trade with one of the nations whether Netherlanders or English, the same shall extend to the service and benefit of both companies, the one not to exclude the other". The ships were to be kept together as far as possible, to be continuous in attack poyzing courage and good foresight in equal ballance", but once engaged to stand by one another "to the uttermost" (Foster). We do not possess any information about the result of this enterprise.

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[8] Foster: English Factories, Volume for 1618–21. Oxford: 1906. pages 276–77.

Decline of the Portuguese in Malabar Meanwhile the Portuguese position on the Malabar coast was steadily deteriorating. In 1623 Dom Francisco Da Gama, Count de Vidiguera, Viceroy of Goa, reported that everything in India was in as bad a state as possible; the fortresses were ruined and without funds. Cochin which used to be the most prosperous settlement had then hardly any trade and was almost in a state of ruin and without any means of defence, whilst the enemies were in great force on the Indian seas. The only thing to be done was, in his opinion, to make peace with the Dutch on any terms even to allowing them trade at Portuguese ports.[9] As a result of the increasing power of the Dutch and the English, Cochin, Goa and many other Portuguese ports had by 1625 lost their great trade. The Asiatic and Indian merchants also suffered in consequence. The port to port trade in India and Asia was controlled and appropriated by the Dutch and the English. The share of the Indians in carrying any foreign trade was daily contested and the Indians lost all foreign trade (Moreland).

Van Speult at Calicut, 1625 Van Speult, hated by the English for his part in the Amboyna massacre, appeared at Calicut in December, 1625. The Zamorin sent a delegate on board to request Van Speult to go to Chettua where the Zamorin, then at war with Cochin, was encamped with his army. Van Speult complied with the request and the Zamorin came to meet him with more than 10,000 armed men. The Zamorin showed much courtesy to Van Speult, let him stay there four or five days and requested him with much insistence that the Dutch Company should establish a factory in his dominion. He offered to deliver

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[9] Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies contained in the Archivo Da Torne Do Tombo and the Public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora by F. C. Danvers, 1892.

annually 3000 candies of pepper (of 510 Amsterdam pounds) for 28 reels[10] per candy and ginger for 12 reels. Van Speult therefore wished to make a contract the draft of which was as follows :—

> " Agreement or contract made with the illustrious and all powerful Kaiser of Malabar and King of Calicut on the one side and the honourable Lord Herman Van Speult, Councillor of India and former governor of Amboyna and those of his council, commanding over the ships and factories of Surat, Persia and Mocha on behalf of the illustrious all powerful Lords States General, the Lord Prince of Orange and the Netherlands East India Company under the generalship of the Lord Pieter de Carpentier on the other side."

> " First, both parties are agreed with each other in treaty that His Majesty shall be bound to be caused to deliver all the pepper produced in his dominions to the person whom the noble Lord Governor aforenamed shall nominate or appoint, at the price of 27 reels of eight per candy consisting of 525 pounds that is, each pound shall cost 17 spanish reels, it being well understood that the aforesaid pepper shall be pure and without any spot, falsehood, or deceit, properly dried and plucked at the proper time."

The Arab merchants, however, dissuaded the Zamorin from making the treaty. Van Speult nevertheless recommended to the Government to establish a factory there. The Dutch had a two-fold interest in this region. In the first place, there was scope for trade. Secondly, Goa, the Portuguese Capital, was on this coast.

Further Deterioration of the Portuguese Position in Malabar On the 16th June, 1627, a Portuguese ship named St. Anthonio, weighing about 300 tons and having on board

[10] A reel of eight was about two rupees in value.

about 750 Malabaree slaves, men, women and children, besides rice, provisions and other wares of some importance was captured (Batavia Dag Register). Thus within a quarter of a century the Portuguese position was considerably weakened and that of the Dutch grew correspondingly stronger. The Batavia Diary of 10th March, 1627, mentions that the Dutch Commandeur Cooper intercepted Portuguese letters in a Moorish ship addressed to the Viceroy and other great ones at Goa which testified to the weak position of the Portuguese at Cochin, Cranganore and Ceylon. The garrisons were rebelling and making extortions for arrears of pay. Necessaries and cash were particularly scanty. In a letter of 1st March, 1639, the Viceroy declared it to be impossible to carry on in India any longer without relief and that, if no succour could be sent, it would only remain to wind up the affairs of the State in the East and to leave.

Dutch Treaty with Chĕmbȧkȧssēri Ruler (Pūrȧkkād), 1642 On the coast of Malabar on the 20th May, 1642, a treaty was concluded by the Dutch with the Chembakasseri Nambiyar of Purakkad (situated 10 Dutch or 40 English miles south of Cochin) for the delivery of pepper and ginger. The Company promised for their part to assist him in his wars. The Dutch were to be permitted to build a fort in his territory.

Pieter Sijbrant Groes at Cannanore and Calicut On the 4th February the Dutch upper merchant Pieter Sijbrant Groes went from Goa to Malabar and anchored on the 9th *idem* at the Portuguese fort of Cannanore, and traded there. While there he received an invitation from the Zamorin of Calicut to visit Calicut. He responded to this invitation on the 18th February. The Batavia Dag Register of July 9, 1643 mentions that 236,584 lbs. of pepper, 18½ ounces of ambergris and 3,043 lbs. of dry ginger were bought from

Malabar by Pieter Sijbrant Groes for 493,704 guilders and that the Zamorin according to his agreement owed to the Company 106,197 lbs. of pepper or 2,351,683 guilders.

The Dutch at Pürâkkäd and Käyâmkülâm Groes bought wares at Ponnani on the 22nd and anchored on the 25th in front of Purakkad where three months previously the king had died. On the 26th he went to Kayamkulam where the Portuguese had a fort. There he visited the Raja. Returning to Purakkad in May, he confirmed, in the name of the States General, the Prince of Orange and the Dutch East India Company, the treaty entered into in the previous year with the late king. Groes had concluded treaties with the kings of Kayamkulam and Purakkad who agreed to deliver annually, at the time of the appearance of the Dutch ships, all the pepper in their territory to the Dutch in exchange for tin, cotton, iron, opium, sandalwood, lac and silk and to no other nation like the Portuguese, the English and the Danes.[11] (For text of treaties, see Appendix).

Fresh Invitation to the Dutch from Malabar Princes The authority of the Portuguese continued to decline. At the same time, the Raja of Cochin also was opposed to the Portuguese because they had killed one of his important subjects. Therefore the Viceroy sent 20 frigates and 600 men to the Portuguese fort of Cochin to do what he could as the siege of Goa had been raised on the 27th April.

Importance of Malabar for the Dutch The Malabar coast now began to be a region of importance for the Dutch. From 1645 to 1646 the pepper trade yielded a profit of 73,696 guilders. In 1646, four ships were sent for trade with Malabar. In 1647 at Kayamkulam (30 kilometers north of Quilon, the Portuguese fort) there stayed a merchant, Matthews Van der Broeck with 3 assistants and 6 soldiers, the

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[11] Dutch Treaties in Mackenzie MSS. page 205.

commander of a military outpost. In 1649 the upper merchant Doick School went there. In 1650 the Dutch Government sent a present to the Prince who reigned there. School, Van der Broeck and Reujnir Van Servoykercke took the presents to the palace which looked more like a pig-pen than a king's residence. Not far from there was the region of Signatty which also the men visited. They offered presents there also. They bought pepper from Purakkad 35 kilometers to the north of Kayamkulam.

First Contact with Travancore In January the Raja of Travancore came and took his residence in a pagoda one Dutch mile south of Kayamkulam. He requested Van der Broeck to visit him. The latter went to see him with a present and observed that the Raja was entirely willing to throw open his land to the Dutch. The invitation had however another aim. For after Van der Broeck had taken leave of the Raja, the Rajadoor (agent of the Raja) came to him secretly to ask whether the image of the god Subrahamanya to which the Hindus attached great importance, taken from the Trichendur temple, could not be presented to him.[12]

Obstructions to Trade In the following month the trade suffered some hindrance because the Raja of Travancore had proceeded northward to fight with the Raja of Cochin. Travancore was helped by Kayamkulam. In October, 1650, the residents at Kayamkulam were Matthews Van der Broeck and Gerrit Van Voorbough. They built a warehouse with the consent of the Raja.

Growing Importance of Dutch Trade Thus, as Foster says, there is abundant evidence of the prominent position of the Dutch not only in respect of naval and military

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[12] Macleod: Oost Indische Compagnie als Zeamogenheid in Azie, Vol. II, Chapter on Malabar.

power but also in ordinary commerce.[13] Despite the vast sums spent in waging war against the Portuguese, they could still find money enough to outdistance their English rivals. But in 1638 the Dutch were not yet in a position to be sure of Malabar pepper and had to buy pepper from the Deccan. The Dutch turned their attention to Malabar because of their desire for freedom from the Great Mughal and because they wanted to be immune from English competition. Many years before their military successes in Cochin, Cranganore and other places, the Dutch had established their factory at Kayamkulam as stated above. The king of that place had broken away from the Portuguese and the King of Cochin as they had prevented him from commerce with the city and in the river owing to an affront he had offered to a church of the Diocese of Cochin which was in his territory.

Aims of the Dutch in Malabar—Their Failure The contact which the Dutch had begun to establish with Malabar princes was destined to assume greater dimensions. They desired that the pepper trade should be exclusively theirs. There were also other reasons of political expediency. In the end the Dutch met with much disappointment as the Malabar princes took every occasion to set at nought the contracts which were forced on them. The constantly increasing competition of European rivals who made sure of obtaining as much pepper as they wanted by always paying the market price or even more led to the ruin of the Dutch trade in Malabar. The Dutch Company insisted upon the performance of the contracts that no pepper should be sold to any others; no price, however, was ever stated in the contracts which only spoke of the market price as the rule to go by. The Dutch failed in Malabar owing to their continued wars and disputes with

[13] See the relevant volume of Foster's English Factories.

the Indian princes and the infidelity and peculation ot their servants. "I rather wish the ocean had swallowed up the coast of Malabar hundred years ago", observed the Dutch Governor-General Mossil, because of the heavy financial strain Malabar imposed on the Dutch. Yet, during the early days of Dutch activity in Malabar, there was great demand in Malabar for goods like opium, cloves, nut-megs, mace and other goods. The Dutch were encouraged to challenge the Portuguese power in Malabar because that nation's power in maritime warfare had declined considerably. The latter began to think only of their lives. At last the naval battles from 1654 to 1688 off the coast of Malabar between the Dutch and the Portuguese and the capture of the important Portuguese stations by the former entirely destroyed the Portuguese power and laid the foundation of the Dutch influence. That story is narrated in the next chapter.

APPENDIX

(I) Agreement made by Cornelis Jacobszen and William Jansen, on behalf of and by the authority of the noble and powerful the Lords States of the United Netherlands and His Princelike Excellency Maurice of Nassau etc., etc. on the one side and the illustrious highborn Kaiser of Malabar, King of Calicut, on the other side. Firstly: His Princelike Excellency shall have for his subordinates a place for constructing a stone house for keeping ammunition of war, gunpowder, bullets, torches, anchors, cables and all other merchandise safe from incendiaries, thieves and other mishaps. Further we Hollanders, Zeelanders and all others trading for the General Company shall be bound to pay 2% on all goods and merchandise that are landed or loaded here; it being well understood that what has been paid for once shall not again be taxed. Also money, rice and other necessaries for the house shall not be taxed. The Zamorin shall not have power to permit any Portuguese to live or trade at Calicut but, on the contrary, shall forbid them as our Hollanders are residing there. No man on either side shall have power to raise any dispute or argument on religious questions. If any one of the Hollanders is caught in a wrong deed by the Zamorin or in his land, he shall be kept by the Zamorin to be delivered into the hands of our nation. All merchants shall have power to deal with us in buying and selling all merchandise without any one forbidding them. The Zamorin shall not have power to permit any European nation not permitted

by His Princelike Excellency to trade here. We also promise on behalf of the General Company to the Zamorin that, if he desires to order any goods, artillery, ammunition of war or other varieties from our lands, we shall be bound to bring them at the first opportunity for which the Zamorin shall be bound to pay its cost in our land. We Hollanders and Zeelanders shall also have power to cut wood and fetch water in the Zamorin's land without being forbidden by the Zamorin or any one else. All which, we agree on behalf of the General Company never to break as truly as God Almighty must help us."

(2) Meckenzie MSS. Dutch Treaties, page 205.

1643, March 1. Contract between the Raja of Calicoulan and Mr. P. S. Groes, Senior merchant, concluded at the Palace at Vuriby (?) by which free trade is allowed to Dutch ships and a promise made that if the same arrived in time the pepper will not be sold to other traders and 1000 candies at least supplied to them in barter for various articles expressed in the contract. The Dutch vessels were to come directly to Calicoulan without previously touching at Purakkad and the Raja was to point out to them a suitable spot for building a fort in order to protect themselves against the Portuguese and other enemies.

Page 208, 1643, May 12. Contract between the Raja of Purakkad and the Senior merchant Mr. P. S. Groes on the Malabar coast was of the same purport as the contract already made on the 1st March with the Raja of Calicoilan with the addition of some stipulations regarding the quantity of pepper to be supplied.

CHAPTER VI

FIRST STEPS IN THE DUTCH CONQUEST OF PORTUGUESE STRONGHOLDS

Dutch Hostilities against the Portuguese in Malabar Few events in South Indian History are so well attested as the Dutch conquest of Portuguese strongholds in Malabar, a subject which is dealt with at length in Portuguese, French, English, Dutch and Malayalam documents. A *resume* of the chief incidents connected therewith is a matter of absorbing interest to students of South Indian History. Dutch hostilities against the Portuguese really commenced with the resumption of the co-operation of Van Diemen with the English fleet of defence. From 1639 Van Diemen organised annual expeditions of cruisers to the coast of Malabar. The position of the Dutch in India was not then a strong one. On the coast of Coromandel the Dutch Company possessed some forts but little sovereign territory; and they could not acquire a monopoly of the trade in that region.

Why the Dutch came to Malabar Various reasons prompted the Dutch to strengthen their position in Malabar in preference to other parts of India. In the Mughal Empire they had to play a subordinate role. Secondly, even with the lesser kings of the East Coast, they could not have things done according to their will. Malabar was on the contrary a region of petty princes whom they could lord it over. Here, again, they could be free from English

rivals. Above all, the Portuguese power was steadily declining. Anderson, in his *History of Commerce*, thus describes the Portuguese position as early as 1614, the year prior to the visit of Sir Thomas Roe and the conclusion of a treaty between the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa and the Emperor Jahangir against the English and the Dutch. "Though they are quite shut out from Calicut and are besieged in Cranganore, yet they have the strong city and castle of Cochin with a considerable trade and a favourable situation for it. They have Coulan (Quilon) and Tecastra (Tuticorin) well fortified and mostly filled with Portuguese, both laity and clergy." Even in these places, however, the situation was deteriorating steadily. Then, in the year 1618, the Cochin Raja, whose ancestors had first offered hospitality to the Portuguese, had, as already stated, solicited the good offices of the Dutch for expelling the Portuguese. The subsequent attack on the Portuguese strongholds by the Dutch was the natural development of two factors, namely (1) the general Dutch policy of aggression against the Portuguese and (2) the particular invitation by a member of the Cochin Royal family to help him in a specific situation. Tavernier gives also the economic reason that the bastard cinnamon of Malabar which was exported from Cochin was putting down the price of real cinnamon in Ceylon, and that it was the desire to prevent this that impelled the Dutch to aim at the mastery of Malabar and the overthrow of the Portuguese. "The wild cinnamon found in Malabar which is now bought up by the English must be claimed on behalf of the Hon'ble Company in terms of the order given to the Governor-General and the Council of India by the Chamber of XVII. In order to make up for the backwardness of the revenues of Colombo, there must be exported yearly from Malabar to Persia a quantity of pepper which would promote the sale of merchandise in Malabar and thus increase the profits there.

If we occupied Coilan, the trade would be considerably advanced. This is also the opinion of Their Honours in Batavia "[1].

Strong Commercial Position of the Dutch in Mid-Seventeenth Century In 1648 the position of Holland in the East was greatly improved by the Treaty of Westphalia. The independence of the United Provinces was then recognised; by 1655 to 1660, the Dutch trade became much larger than that of Britain. "In commerce, in sea-borne trade, in finance, in colonial expansion and enterprise, in arts and in letters, the Dutch Republic had reached the zenith of its prosperity. The civil wars in England had paralysed the energies of its chief rival power upon the seas and left the way clear for the United Provinces to step into the very first rank of maritime powers "[2]. Similarly the Dutch were overpowering the Portuguese. In 1655 the latter, though retaining in India their ancient possessions, were rapidly declining in power and resources. The renewal of the war with Holland rendered their prospects even more gloomy. The Dutch were determined not only to drive the Portuguese first out of Ceylon for securing cinnamon and then out of Malabar for securing pepper but also to drive them away from the East altogether. The weakness of the Portuguese rendered the speedy attainment of such a result quite probable. It was this alarming prospect, quite as much as the desire to secure a fortified base for themselves, that prompted the English to endeavour to secure from the Portuguese the cession of Bombay or some other suitable possession on the West coast[3].

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[1] See Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon (1656-65) and the Memoir of Anthony Paviljoen, Commander of Jaffnapatam (English translation, pages 5 and 24.)

[2] Edmundson: Anglo-Dutch Rivalry (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1911, Preface, page 5.)

[3] Foster, English Factories, 1655-60 (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1921. Preliminary, page 6.)

The Dutch a Danger to the Portuguese With the Dutch conquest of Colombo in 1656, the danger to the Portuguese strongholds on the Malabar Coast from the Dutch became imminent. On the 15th September, 1656 [4], a general fast and prayer day was proclaimed at Batavia because of the projected expedition against the Portuguese. The relevant decree in the Plakkaat boek states that, while every preparation had been made for the war, victory must come from the Lord. The Batavia Dag Register for the 1st July 1657 chronicles the arrival at Batavia of Rijcklof Van Goens, extraordinary Councillor and Commander of the fleet sent from the fatherland.

The Career of Van Goens Van Goens was destined to do great things for his country in the East. He was, says Aalbers [5], as it were, a child of the Company. He was born at Rees on the 24th June, 1619. His father, Volckert Boickes Van Goens, belonged to an old Friesland family, and was the cornet of a Company of cuirassiers in the service of the States General. When Rijcklof was nine years old, he was taken by his parents to India where, with the influence of a rich brother, his father got the position of a commander of soldiers. Unfortunately, a month after his arrival (1629), Volckert Boickes died. His wife followed him to the grave in the following year. So the eleven-year-old Rijcklof was stranded in India as a helpless orphan. On the recommendation of his uncle, however, he entered, when he was hardly twelve years old, the service of the Governor of Coromandel, Arent Gardenijs, who proved to be a good disciplinarian to him. But in 1634 the Lords Seventeen (i.e. the Directors of the Company), displeased for some reason with Gardenijs, summoned him

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4 Plakkaat boek—Chapter on J. Maat Suyker. As the entries in the Plakkaat boek are arranged chronologically, only the date is given in the text.

5 The biography of Van Goens is based on the narrative of Aalbers.

to the fatherland. So the junior Van Goens had to return to Batavia and to stand wholly on his own resources. Subsequently he was appointed by the Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen as an assistant to Jacob de Wit, the senior merchant of the castle of Batavia, on a salary of 300 guilders a year. Here Van Goens had opportunities for employment in the factory. In course of time Van Goens rose, from the rank of assistant to those of under-merchant (with 700 guilders a year), book-keeper, merchant (with the large salary of 1500 guilders a year), and the second person in the administration of all the Company's affairs. In 1645, he became Senior Merchant and 'upper head' of the pay office at Batavia. In 1648 to '49 we find him in military employment as well. In 1649 he obtained a seat in the Superior Court of Law; and in 1651 he was further promoted as the First Upper Merchant of the Castle i.e. first of the two assistants of the Director-General of the trade on a salary of 2200 guilders, besides other emoluments. Already, a year previously, he had been temporarily admitted to the High Table as a co-opted. member of the Council of India. He was confirmed as an extraordinary member of this body on 3400 guilders a year on the 23rd August 1654[6]. It may be mentioned that, while employed in Batavia, Van Goens was sent on various missions. In 1653-54 he inspected as Director the western factories of Ceylon, Surat and Wingurla. During 1648-54 he was in fact not only Director of the Western Quarter but also commander over the naval and land forces; and he obtained two victories over the Portuguese. In the first of these he burned or captured 40 enemy frigates or galleys. In the second, four heavy Portuguese galleys were destroyed and one taken. Thus the poor boy who had been left as an orphan twenty years ago now became extraordinary member of the Council

[6] Decree of the Lords Seventeen dated 20th January, 1654 quoted by Aalbers.

of India; and he thought the time had come for him to return to his dear fatherland to join both his sons and wife who had preceded him years before. Before his departure in January 1655, he was honoured by the Governor-General in Council with the present of 4000 guilders; and in the fatherland he was presented by the Lords Seventeen with a golden chain worth 600 guilders. His heart overflowed with devout thankfulness. With the psalmist he cried "Make Thy servant thankful, O Lord! that he might never more depart from Thy commands from now till eternity, Amen. Halleluiah".

Van Goens was not however destined to end his public life with his retirement. It was reserved for him to add greatly to the power of his nation by extensive military operations in Malabar which eventually led to the domination of the Dutch Company over that part of India for a hundred and thirty two years. Under pressure from the Right Worshipfuls, he decided once more to give himself to the service of the Company with the express stipulation that the first seat which fell vacant on the High Council of Batavia should be filled by him as ordinary member. So he departed from the *Vlie* on the ship *Orange* on the 22nd November, 1656, with his wife and son Rijcklof who was a youth of fourteen years and an assistant in the service of the Company[7]. It was thus that Van Goens returned to Batavia on the 1st July 1657; and two days later, he took the oath again in the Council as an Extraordinary Member.

Van Goens' Campaigns against Portuguese Ceylon and Malabar When the Council of Batavia fitted out an expedition to the coast of India proper and Ceylon to do all possible injuries to the Portuguese, Van Goens, who had, as we have seen, just returned from Europe, offered himself

[7] Aalbers and Batavia Dag Register for 1656—57, page 203.

to be in charge of the same. His past service under the Company in various situations made him the fittest man to be the head of this mission. Already in the Archipelago he had shown that he understood the art of getting on with local princes, and during his mission to the Western Quarter he had displayed equal smartness and undauntedness as head of the fleet. The Governor-General in Council therefore accepted Van Goens' offer and nominated and elected him [8]. On the 4th September, 1657, the Governor-General gave a farewell dinner to Van Goens, Major Van der Laen, and other subordinates, and in the evening gave him his papers of authorisation. Major Van der Laen and Leonard Winniex, Director Designate of Surat, were given sealed orders which they were to open if Van Goens met with his death during his commission and to observe strictly, and use their services for the good of the Company. [9] On the 6th September, 1657, Van Goens and fleet left Batavia with the good wishes of all at the castle.

The Character of Van Goens It is necessary at this stage to refer to an important aspect of the character of Van Goens. Van Goens was a zealous Christian who went much beyond what the official formulas required, inclined to see the hand of God in all successes, to give honour to Almighty God, and to thank Him perpetually. But as a servant of the Company he considered it undesirable to deal mercifully and in the true Christian spirit with Indian princes. "Trust in God and keep the powder dry," was his motto as well as Cromwell's.

The Capture of Quilon The first step in the expedition to Malabar was the capture of the Portuguese fortress of Quilon on the 29th December 1658. The Batavia Diary for

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[8] Batavia Dag Register, 1656—57, page 213.

[9] Batavia Dag Register, 1656—57, page 254.

1659[10] refers to a communication sent by Rijcklof Van Goens from the fortress of Quilon wherein he says that, after a fight with the Portuguese, he had taken that fortress on the 29th December, 1658. The *Plakkaat Boek* tells us that on receipt of this information at Batavia on the 1st March, 1659 "a day of thanksgiving and intercession was proclaimed because of the capture of the town of Quilon on the Malabar Coast." The English merchants at Surat, writing to their Company on April 12, 1659, also refer to this success of the Dutch. "The Dutch with their bribing of the Governors of the Country get footing upon the coast of India more and more, having lately with the assistance of the Rajah of the place, taken the *castle of Quilon* from the Portugals and with their small shipping command already these vessels that are bound from Cochin to go to Quilon and trade there." This victory made the English merchants surmise that, if no Viceroy came that year (1659) from Portugal with shipping, soldiers and ammunition, the Dutch would proceed apace, and take possession of the strongholds of the Portuguese on the coast, small and big. Quilon was of importance as a place for checking the Travancore and Quilon rulers. Its harbour was a great seat of the pepper trade of the Malabar Coast and its possession would enable the Dutch Company to pluck that fruit. Curiously, however, its capture, as Heeres says, has seldom or never been mentioned by the biographer of Van Goens.[11] But the rejoicing at Batavia was very great.

The Treaty with Quilon It became now necessary for the Company to deal with the local rulers in whose territory Quilon was situated, namely Travancore and Signatty.

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[10] Batavia Dag Register for 1659, entry for March 1, page 42.

[11] Footnote 2, document No. 234 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando Indicum.*

The following treaty was concluded on the 7th January, 1659 between the Dutch Company and the Queen of Quilon.[12]

" Articles of accord and alliance concluded between the Queen of Signatty with her nobles and the Dutch Company through their Commissaris and Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens on behalf of the Lord Governor-General Joan Maetsuijcker and the Lords Councillors of India to last for ever without alteration except through the permission of both parties.

1. There shall be a firm peace, love and union which both parties shall keep securely.

2. The town of Quilon and the Portuguese gardens, grounds and cottages shall remain in full possession of the Company, both inside and outside, also the gardens which the Portuguese have pledged to the natives, provided the Company shall confirm the same to owners whenever the obligation was shown to be valid.

3. The black Christian inhabitants and natives of the land shall remain as vassals of the Queen in their places keeping their cottages and rendering themselves subservient to the Company as in the time of the Portuguese.

4. No Portuguese nor white or mestice (i.e. children of European fathers and native mothers) priests shall have power to dwell in the land nor to come there but are banished for all time as soon as this contract is concluded.

5. Whereas both parties are in friendship, the enemies of the honourable Company shall be enemies of the Signatty, and no one of another white nation shall have power to trade in this land; but both parties shall assist each other according to their power and opportunities.

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[12] Vide document No. 234 cited above. The Fort of Quilon was situated in the territory which originally belonged to the Signatty. The latter kingdom stood in some sort of relationship with Travancore.

6. The Queen of Signatty (Quilon) promises to give the pepper of this land to no one besides the Dutch as previously to the Portuguese.

7. No native vessel shall have power to sail here without the pass of the Dutch captain.

8. If the merchants of this land come to owe anything to the Company, they shall be bound to pay it at the appointed time; and if they do not do so, the rulers of the land shall be bound to demand and pay the same.

9. The incoming and out-going pattamars[13] of the company shall be secure in this land.

10. All tolls and duties shall be such as the two parties shall maintain under them.

This treaty shows very clearly that the Dutch in Malabar aimed at monopolistic control of the trade in spices to the exclusion of all other nations.

Van Goens Ordered Back After the capture of Quilon, Van Goens proceeded to Cannanore. Here, however, he received orders to send 500 men to Batavia and to desist for the time being from further actions. Hence he returned to Quilon. He left a garrison here under Captain Kock and Mr. Nieuhof for guarding the fortifications of the city which had been lately made of earth, and then left it with his fleet. After his departure trouble arose for the Dutch garrison at Quilon from a force of 3000 Portuguese and a few thousand Nayars.

Subsequent Moves of the Dutch Van der Meyden, Governor of Ceylon, thereupon proceeded to Quilon, and withdrew the garrison on the 14th of April, 1659. Under the orders of the Batavia Council, Van Goens again sailed for Malabar on the 25th January, 1660. But Van Goens

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13 A Pattamar was a small trading ship.

subsequently gave up the idea of attacking Quilon and Cochin that year. At the beginning of 1661, Van der Meyden proceeded to Malabar with six ships and 1200 men.

The Dutch and the Cochin War of Succession Just at this stage a succession war in Cochin was destined to usher in a new epoch of Dutch progress in Malabar. The voyage of Van der Meyden to Malabar, which is described in the Batavia Diary for 1661, was the result of a personal appeal for help made at Colombo by Veerakerala Varma, the Senior Member of the Moothathavazhi branch of the Cochin royal family, whose house had been deprived of power by Veerakerala Varma of the Palluruthi line in 1646.[14] The Moothathavazhi princes had the help of the Zamorin and the chiefs of Vatakkumkur, Tekkenkur and and Llangallur (Idapalli, the Repolim of Europeans); but they could not prevail against the usurpers who had the support of the princes of Chempakasseri (Purakkad), Parur and Valluvanad as well as that of the Portuguese. The last power had indeed been throwing all the weight of their influence on the side of the *Palluruthi* family. The suppliant Moothathavazhi prince who was at Colombo, at this stage, brought home to the Dutch authorities at Colombo that even the Zamorin, the Chief ruler of Malabar, could not restore the kingdom to him because of the powerful support which his opponent was receiving from the Portuguese, and that the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Fort of Cochin, which the Dutch alone could accomplish, was essential for his success. It was in these circumstances that the Council of Ceylon decided to send Van der Meyden to Malabar, with definite instructions to take Palliport, Cranganore and Quilon. The vessels from Ceylon were ordered to co-operate with certain Dutch vessels which were then coming from elsewhere to the Malabar Coast.

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[14] Pattappattu, Introduction, page VII.

Van Der Meyden on the Malabar Coast Van der Meyden sailed to the Malabar Coast with about 1200 soldiers taken from Ceylon, viz. 16 companies of soldiers, each of 65 men and 150 lascarins or native soldiers serving of their own accord. They reached the neighbourhood of *Ayacotta*[15] on the 10th February, 1661, and obtained 10 ships besides several shallops. Van der Meyden held a conference with the Zamorin and others on the 15th *idem*; the forces set foot on shore with a view to attack the fortress of Palliport.

The Attack on Păllipôrt Many Nayars, intoxicated with opium and drink, made heavy charges but were driven back by the Dutch. In this skirmish the Dutch casualties were 2 dead and 7 wounded. On the morning of the 16th, Van der Meyden marched with his forces along the coast and attacked a Muhammadan mosque where had been placed an iron piece of artillery which several times shot at the Dutch army but with no effect. The Portuguese, seeing that the Dutch would occupy the place, fled through the wood to their great fortress of Palliport where, under the command of Simon Gomes, there had been stationed about a hundred or hundred and fifty white soldiers besides two hundred Nayars. The Dutch brought two metal twenty pounders and a mortar to attack Palliport, and put up an entrenchment from behind against the assistance that might come from Cochin. While the Dutch were busy with this in the first hours of the night, the Portuguese fled behind the bay to Palliport before the Dutch shallops could come into the river to prevent the escape of the Portuguese. The date of this event is mentioned in the Pattappattu as Tuesday the 27th of Kumbham 836[16]

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[15] See foot-note 17.

[16] From 1st January to the middle of August, the Malabar year is obtained by deducting 825 from the year of the Christian era. From the middle of August to end of December the number to be deducted is 824.

(corresponding to about 11th March, 1661). The Dutch Company thus became master of Palliport and 4 pieces of guns, each discharging 5 lbs. Hearing of the arrival of the Dutch, the Portuguese at Cochin sent 300 or 500 white soldiers and four or five thousand Nayars in many boats and across the land. They came to within two miles of Palliport but were too late to relieve their friends[17]. When Van der Meyden appeared with the fleet in front of Ayacotta, the heir to the Zamorin and the king of Cranganore came on board and later the Zamorin also.

Note on Palliport and Cranganore

[17] The following description of the forts at Cranganore and Pallipuram (Palliport) taken from the Travancore Archaeological Report, Vol. I pp. 390–391, will be of interest to the student who visits the spots and reads the present narrative. "Both forts seem to have been constructed a few years after the building of Fort Manuel at Cochin. The Pallipuram fort must have been brought into existence for the purpose of commanding the entrance to the backwater from the north. Gasper Correa says it was built in 1507 to hold the entrance to the backwater, that it was garrisoned by about 20 men, that it was octagonal, that each of the facets was pierced for cannon etc. This little castle is probably the most ancient European building in India. The fort at Pallipuram was known at the time of its construction and subsequently by the name of *Alikkottai* or *Ayakkottai*. Strangely enough this fortress has been described by one and all as octagonal. Actually it is as the visitor could see for himself, hexagonal. It was an outpost on the northern extremity of Vypeen. The Portuguese were permitted to build this as an outpost to guard the passage of foreign vessels through the mouth of the Periyar river. It was meant to be three storeys in height. Inside the fort the lowest floor is raised to a height of five feet from the ground level. The Travancore Government has put up the following inscription "Pallipuram Fort, the most ancient European Building in India, built about 1503. Conserved as a Historic Relic."

Palliport, says Galletti, lay about fifteen miles from Cochin along the backwater and commanded the estuary of the Periyar river on its left bank while the fort of Cranganore commanded it on the right bank. The great fortress to which Van der Meyden marched on the 16th March, 1661, was not the little 'Octagonal' castle of 1507 but more probably a block of buildings serving also as a seminary of which the construction was begun shortly after 1600 A.D. This building now belongs to the British who have put up the following inscription. "This site was granted to the Portuguese by the Rajah of Cochin in the year 1600 A.D. for the building of a Seminary. The Portuguese buildings which served also as a fortress were occupied by the

Treaty With the Zămorin In the treaty made with the Zamorin, it was agreed that

(1) The guns and goods captured with Palliport and Cranganore should be equally divided between the Zamorin and the Dutch. (2) The Portuguese and native Christians taken prisoners should be handed over to the Dutch and the Hindus and native Muhammedans to them (to Zamorin and the Cranganore Raja). (3) No Portuguese priests shall be permitted in the land. (4) After the capture of Palliport the fortress shall be demolished unless Cochin could not be captured this year; in that case Palliport was to be allowed to stand and to be occupied with the Dutch garrisons if they want the Dutch to protect them. (5) The Zamorin and the king of Cranganore should make good half the expenses incurred by the Dutch; if the Dutch should succeed in setting on the throne of Cochin the Moothathavazhi the lawful heir to the Cochin throne, then they (the Zamorin and the King of Cranganore) should bear the whole cost. (6) The Company should be permitted to administer justice and enjoy half the income from the land in rents and tolls and also all such privileges as the Portuguese previously had. (7) The Dutch shall carry away all the commodities that fall into their hands at such price as they shall estimate on condition that the nobles or their

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Dutch in 1661 and the present Leper Asylum was established here in 1728. The site passed into possession of the British Government in 1795." The old walls, slightly rebuilt, are still preserved and contain the following Dutch inscription "Cochin Lazarus House 1728." The Leper Asylum was closed about 1918 and the site is now used as a convent.

Due north of Palliport and on the opposite bank of the river i.e. the right bank was built the fort of Cranganore. A wall of the fortification about 60 or 70 yds. in length, a ruined gateway and an underground powder magazine, all situated on a mound of earth are all that have survived of the once famous fort of Cranganore. It was sold in 1789 by the Dutch to Travancore. The Travancore Government have put up the following inscription: "Cranganore Fort, built by the Portuguese about A. D. 1503. Conserved as a Historic Relic by the Government of Travancore A.D. 1909."

merchants shall be free to keep one-third of the goods in their own hands, especially as the Company is allowed to have on the corner of the Cochin river a fort sufficient to hinder the Portuguese enemies from coming there.

Dutch Reverses and Return of Van Der Meyden Soon there was an interruption to the Dutch triumphs. The narrative in the *Pattappattu* tells us that the Vatakkumkur prince who attacked the Portuguese by the backwaters was defeated, the Portuguese again took Palliport, and the Dutch left the place. The subsequent fortunes of Van der Meyden's expedition are clearly set forth in the *Batavia Dag Register* which reproduces the letters to Batavia by Van Goens and Van der Meyden on the subject; some days after the capture of Palliport the governor Van der Meyden offered the place to the Zamorin and his delegates to be occupied by them, and it was too late then to do anything against Cranganore. But seeing that they were not willing to do anything, that the Palyat chief and other important Lords of the region were reconciled with the Portuguese, that the fortress of Cranganore and the city had for long been strongly fortified, and that no reliance could be placed on the word of the Zamorin who sought to lead the Company by the nose, Governor Van der Meyden broke up his camp and left Palliport on the 5th March, 1661, with the purpose of leaving no stone unturned in furtherance of the Company's design in the south. Nothing was done there except that a portion of the goods of the company at Kayamkulam under the supervision of the merchant Serooskerke viz. ducats, gold, opium, lead and planks to the value of 2586 and odd guilders were brought from land and put on board because the prince of Kayamkulam threatened to confiscate the Company's goods and to expel the Dutch from his lands if they attacked Quilon or any other places situated to the south, and because the Prince desired that the Dutch should not give

passes to vessels of Quilon, Calicut, and Cannanore and those that dwelt in the bay of Tuticorin. Van der Meyden left Malabar on the 16th March and reached Colombo on the 26th March. The aforenamed merchant Rynier Serooskerke remained with the remnants of the Spanish reels, cinnamon, opium, pepper, rice, coir, woodworks, etc. to the value of 61,509 and odd guilders at Kayamkulam with certain vessels left for the security of the Company's goods and for the transport of certain Malabar goods with the order that he should try to maintain the existing footing with the Queen and her followers. On the Yacht *Vlieland* which was despatched to Canara on the 12th March the book-keeper Philip de Hase was sent to the Zamorin with a letter and three iron pieces of those captured at Palliport for the ratification of the draft articles of the treaty, there having been no convenience for the same during the Zamorin's presence at Palliport.

Difference of Opinion Between Dutch Leaders There were differences of opinion among Dutch leaders as to their next objective. For various reasons held to be weighty, Van der Meyden thought it was inadvisable to lay siege to the city of Cochin. For one thing, the city contained many stalwart white soldiers besides black Topasses and Negroes, and it was generally reported from Kayamkulam that the Portuguese could get some thousands of vigorous St. Thomas Christians and armed Nayars. On the other hand, Van Goens, the Commissaris, held the view that the Company should aim at the establishment of their authority at Cochin and Quilon for consolidating their recent conquests and bringing under their control wild cinnamon and Malabar pepper. In any case it was decided that the design on Quilon should also be borne in mind.

CHAPTER VII

RECAPTURE OF QUILON AND FALL OF CRANGANORE

The Palyat Achan Allies Himself with the Dutch. About 1660 the Palyat Achan, the hereditary prime minister of Cochin and a great territorial magnate in Vypeen, began to be lukewarm to the Portuguese and positively friendly to the Dutch. He, in fact, signed a treaty with Van Goens in the ship *Muskatboom* on 12th March 1661.[1] By this treaty Palyat Kommi Menon submitted to the Dutch Admiral Van Goens that he and his lands were being greatly injured by the Portuguese and other neighbouring enemies, and that, being powerless to get redress without the help of a powerful nation, he placed himself under the protection of the Dutch Company. He and his successors agreed never again to place themselves under the Portuguese.

Van Goens Ordered to Malabar When Van Goens was on his return voyage to Batavia, he received at Pulicat in September 1661 orders to return to Ceylon and attempt to drive the Portuguese from the coast of India proper and thus further the Company's design on the coast of India, especially Cochin. This task was accomplished by Van Goens although it was not quite in keeping with the peace negotiations which were at the time carried on in Europe

[1] Document No. 254 in Heeres *Corpus Diplomaticum* Vol. II, page 202; for English translation by Galletti (page 121), see Appendix.

between the Dutch and the Portuguese. The situation in Malabar was rather complicated. The Portuguese were still masters of the different places on the coast. The Zamorin had not much more than the appearance of authority over the many princelings in this region. At this time the Dutch merchants residing at Kayamkulam understood that the Palyat Achan, the rebels among the Cochin great lords, the Zamorin, the Rajahs of Vatakkumkur, Tekkenkur and Cranganore, in short all the Malabar Rajahs had become reconciled with the Portuguese and the Rajah of Cochin.[2] This was certainly not helpful for the prosecution of the Dutch design. Also the city of Cochin was very much strengthened. The Governor-General and Council felt that the Dutch should begin their work northward from Cape Comorin and especially Quilon, Cochin, Cranganore, Palliport and other places should be subdued.

Quilon Retaken Quilon which had been taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in December 1658 was subsequently recovered by the local ruler. But the Portuguese allowed it to be taken again by the Dutch in the following circumstances in December 1661. About the 7th of December the Dutch forces under Van Goens came to anchor about two leagues south of Quilon; on the 8th the Dutch marched in battle array into the country. Within half a league from the city, the defenders had thrown up a small redoubt from whence they fired thick upon the Dutch vessels, but with no great success. However, their firing was so severe that the Dutch were forced to cut their way through the woods to attack them from behind. The carpenters of the Dutch were immediately set to work to cut down the bushes and trees while the sailors were employed in levelling the grounds to make room for the Dutch artillery. After advancing a little way into the wood,

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[2] Heeres, Introduction to document No. 255 in Vol. II, page 204.

the Dutch halted for a little in a stone house situated on the way to the sea and to the left of a small plain. The defenders kept themselves within their stronghold, but, as the Dutch advanced further, the guard of the latter was attacked by the enemy. The Dutch were ordered to break in uppon the forces of Quilon. They bravely stood the first brunt but afterwards retreated again to their fort. When the Dutch obtained their cannon, they prepared for a general attack. This was carried on so vigorously that the soldiers of Quilon deserted the fort in hopes of saving themselves by flight. Most of them were however killed. A strong party of them happened accidentally to fall in with a Dutch Company of gunners sent through the woods to attack the Fort from behind. They fought desperately and in the terrible engagement which followed the Indians were overcome with above 100 killed and a great many wounded. The Dutch found two iron pieces of cannon in the Fort which they nailed up and beat the carriage in pieces. "After we had placed guards in all convenient posts thereabouts", says Nieuhof, "the soldiers reposed themselves under the shadow of trees; but, within two hours after, we continued our march to the city of Kolang (Quilon). As we advanced to the city, the enemy fired briskly upon us from a small fort near the water side, where they had set up the Portuguese standard, but, perceiving us notwithstanding this to march undaunted towards the walls, their hearts began to fail and, betaking themselves to flight, they left the city to our mercy which we took without the least resistance".

Dutch Attack Continued The enemy then attacked the Dutch from an adjacent small fort; some companies wheeled to the right and the rest to the left, whilst the mariners undauntedly approached with their scaling ladders and, mounting the walls, took the fort with little resistance. The fort contained only two iron pieces of cannon readily

charged. They skirmished briskly with the foremost troops of the Dutch as they advanced beyond the Fort. However, by degrees, they gave in and retreated to the Queen's palace where they made another halt and engaged the Dutch troops a second time. This time too they did not succeed; they were seized with panic and soon gave ground, leaving the place to the mercy of the Dutch by whom it was plundered and destroyed. In the meanwhile, the Dutch were attacked in the rear several times because' by reason of the narrowness of the way, it took some time for the Dutch cannon to come up with the forces. Making use of this advantage, the enemy attacked the Dutch very furiously, but they were repulsed by the help of the Dutch field pieces which, being charged with small shot, were discharged among them with such success that many of them died on the spot. The Dutch thus continued engaging the enemy till they received reinforcements, when the enemy retired leaving the Dutch absolute masters of the field. The Dutch troops had also advanced to the river where they made themselves masters of another fort in which they found 2 brass and 10 iron pieces of cannon. In a certain pagoda next to the Queen's palace, the Dutch found a great chest with gunpowder. They set it on fire and in an instant the ancient brass-pinnaced temple was blown up and destroyed. Then the Dutch troops devastated the country both to the right and left burning and destroying all they met with. In an instant, all the wood was enveloped in flames. The bamboo canes made a terrible noise in particular and burned like brimstone. From the other side of the river was seen the miserable spectacle of the flame consuming in an instant what had cost them many years' labour. The retreating army of Quilon was followed up the river *Aruick*; but they escaped wading through the river where the Dutch shallops could not proceed. A fresh consternation was caused among the

fleeing troops by the sight of 40 houses being set on fire. After thus ravaging the country, the Dutch soldiers returned to the temple grounds where they rested for a while and proceeded the same evening to the city.

End of the Fight On the 12th December the ship carpenters went ashore and cut down the trees that stood upon the city walls. Part of the walls was demolished and the city was brought into a smaller compass. About the same time the defenders sent some deputies for peace. From these it was learned that there were not above 30 true Portuguese in the city and these fled immediately. The Indians who were nearly 8000 strong had intimation some fifteen days previously of the Dutch design. They had resolved to kill all the Hollanders they met with except a few whom they intended to preserve for being sent abroad in their galleys. But the event was far different. The Dutch continued their advance heedless of opposition. This proved almost fatal to one of the Dutch ships. It was in great danger of being burnt, but the mariners quenched the fire. It was reported that the easy fall of Quilon was due to treachery on the part of the natives who had received a great sum of money from the Portuguese, but left the Portuguese in the lurch when they perceived that the Dutch were in earnest. The Portuguese left the city of Quilon the same afternoon on which the Dutch landed.

Dutch Treaty with Signatty and Travancore After the capture of Quilon by Van Goens in 1661, difficulties arose with the rulers of Signatty (Quilon) and Travancore. A treaty, purporting to last for ever without any change, was concluded on the 31st March, 1662. The parties on one side were (1) the Queen of Quilon (2) the ragiadore or Bariattu Pilla, the Kurup, for himself and for the King of Travancore, and (3) the ragiadore of the Queen of Signatty

named Martanda Pilla. Van Goens signed it on behalf of the Governor-General. The terms were as follows :[3]

1. " All injuries, costs, losses, and wrongs to either side shall be annulled and be regarded as not having happened and shall be accordingly forgotten and forgiven.

2. The old contract concluded on the 7th January, 1659, was to be renewed and precisely kept.

3–13. These only repeated the clauses of the previous treaty.

14. After the conclusion of this treaty, the merchants shall be free to bring their merchandise to the market.

15. After the lapse of eight months and the friendship had been well maintained, the Admiral promised on behalf of the Company to restore all the guns taken out of her palace and in addition to that make a present of one of the Companys's guns and 1500 fannams in cash as a token of mutual friendship.

16. The King of Travancore and the Rajah of Kayamkulam shall stand surety that the promises made to the Dutch General would be formally carried out.

17. If any of the subjects or slaves of either side run away, they shall be traced and shall be handed over to their governors or masters.

18. On the plain made on behalf of the Company for view round the town, no man shall build a house or plant trees and the trees that are cut off shall remain for the Company.

19. If any of the Dutch comes to slay a native or a native comes to slay a Dutch man, the murderer shall be

[3] Document No. 255 in Vol. II of Heeres, page 204.

punished with death, and each shall be sentenced according to his law.

20. In all smaller questions that shall arise between the subjects of the Queen of Quilon and those of the Company, the complaint over the guilt shall be enquired into and each person punished according to the law of his land.

21. This treaty shall be signed by the Queen and all her nobles besides the prince of Travancore in the name of the King of Travancore and by the Dutch Admiral and his council on behalf of the Dutch.

22. Of this contract, four original documents shall be made, two in Malayalam and two in Dutch, and each side shall keep two of them."

Dutch Plan to Seize Cranganore We learn from Baldaeus that the Dutch now felt that, before they attempted the conquest of Portuguese Cochin, they should get a firm footing on the north side at Cranganore, which was a strong Portuguese centre especially since they feared that they might be obliged to spend the wintry month of December there. Accordingly, a Dutch officer, Commodore Roodhaas, sailed with eight ships towards the city of Cranganore to block up the entrance of that river. He had left his remaining ships behind with instruction to follow at convenient speed. But at this stage a great storm arose; and the entire Dutch fleet consisting of thirty ships, great and small, was attacked by the local people and many ships were much damaged. But a few of the great vessels escaped without any considerable damage. Meanwhile, Van Goens set sail for Cranganore on the 24th December 1661 after leaving all necessaries for the garrison at Quilon which consisted of 663 men including both soldiers and natives.

Further Advance of the Dutch Another officer was also connected with the Cranganore enterprise. This was Nieuhof who had been left in charge of Quilon. He left Quilon on the 29th December and passed by Kayamkulam the next day. The Governor of the place came on board with a present of fresh provisions which was accepted. Passing by within a league of the city of Cochin on the 1st of January, 1662, at break of day, Nieuhof found himself the same afternoon at the entrance of the river Palliport. Having embarked the next day with their ammunition and two field-pieces in boats, the Dutch reached the entrance to Palliport. They met with some real resistance from the local people who discharged shots through their great cannon. The Dutch overcame their opposition and succeeded in landing. They had practically sustained no loss. Though the Dutch had effected an easy landing, they found that quite contrary to their expectation the fortification proper was in such strength that they could not take it without cannon.

Preparation to Capture Cranganore To intercept all communications between the enemy and the country, the Dutch posted their forces in three places. The next day the Dutch brought two tons of rice and two brass guns ashore and, soon after, their whole train of artillery with all other necessaries required for the important undertaking. For some time the Dutch kept the place blocked up both on the land and the river side. Then they excavated trenches successfully and in a short time under the protection of their guns. The garrison tried by continual fire out of their cannon and fire arms to hinder the Dutch approach, and killed many of the Dutchmen in the trenches. Fourteen days were spent in the making of trenches and breaches but to no purpose.

The approaching season obliged the Dutch to carry on the siege with all possible expedition. Information

came at the time, it is believed, from the Paliyat Menon concerning the condition of the place, and as the result of it the Dutch resolved to attack the point next to the river on a Sunday, in January 1662, very early in the morning. "Tomorrow the city shall be ours", said Van Goens. The Paliyat Achan, minister of Cochin, and his following, we are told, stood guard at a quarter which was reckoned weak. The Paliyat Achan slipped out of the fort unobserved and joined the Dutch. He then took the Dutch commander to his residence at Chennamangalam; here it was agreed that the Dutch should restore the Moottatavazhi Prince to the throne of Cochin. The Achan then disclosed to the Dutch the weak spot of the fort.

Fall of Cranganore The Dutch forces mounted the breach and assaulted the town with great fury under the cover of the smoke of their cannon and fire arms. The people of Cranganore defended themselves with very great bravery for a considerable time, but the Dutch pushed on the assault with the utmost vigour. The former were at last forced to give way and to leave the Dutch masters of the city. The town of Cranganore capitulated to the Dutch forces commanded by Van Goens on 15th January, 1662.[4] The Portuguese who were there were chased to the local Jesuit church. Two Dutch Captains were dangerously wounded. 80 common soldiers were killed in the assault and a great many more wounded. The loss of the Portuguese was much greater. Their Captain Urbano Fialho Ferreira fought valiantly and was severely wounded. 200 Portuguese were slain during the action besides a great number of natives who were all thrown into the river and were carried back and forward several times by the tides, "a most terrible spectacle to behold". The

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[4] Document No. 251 in Vol. II of Heeres, page 192 and Dutch Treaties in Mackenzie *MSS.* page 323.

Portuguese showed great courage in their defence of Cranganore. As the *Patappattu* describes it,

Kŏttă mărănjĭttūm vătă mărănjĭttūm
Kôtätĕyūllă măttĭlkăl mărănjĭttūm
Tōōnnū mărănjĭttūm vättĭl mărănjĭttūm
Tännū kūzhĭyēēnnŏlĭtchĭttū nŏkkĭyūm
Vănnă rĭpūkkălĕ nănnäyĭ vĕtĭ vĕtchū
Vĕnnū chăttĭchū vădhĭtchăn Părănkĭyūm [5]

(Under the shelter of the fort, the ditches, its walls, and its pillars and doors, and hiding in pits, the Portuguese shot the advancing enemy by deceit and slew them). Thus the taking of Cranganore was a far more difficult piece of work than the capture of Quilon. If the Commanders had not by their own example urged the soldiers to do their utmost, the Dutch would have retreated. They were on the point of doing so, and it is a marvel that with so small a force they were able to attack and conquer so strong a place. After the city was plundered, it was rased to the ground. A single stone tower alone was kept intact on the river and a garrison put into it for the security of the river.

Victory Sermon of Baldaeus In honour of this victory, we are informed, Baldaeus preached a sermon on Deut XXIII/14, "Jehovah thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give thine enemies before thee; ......" The Dutch judged it convenient to surrender Cranganore after its capture to the King of Cochin. They were to get it back some years afterwards when they found themselves engaged in a war with the Zamorin.

[5] *Patappattu* page 19, lines 8 to 13.

Terms of Capitulation The following were the terms of the capitulation of Cranganore by the Portuguese on the 15th January 1662 (a Sunday in Makaram 837 according to *Patappattu*) :—[6]

(1) The Town and jurisdiction of Cranganore were to be surrendered to the Dutch East India Company and their commander and delegates. (2) The Portuguese garrison were to march out with military honours and lay their arms near the great battery. Passages would be provided for them as soon as practicable. (3) The Topasses[7] and the free born natives were to remain in the town of Cranganore till the next opportunity and at least till the next July. (4) The clergy were to depart as soon as possible for good. (5) No officer high or low was to have power to take anything except his baggage and such things as he was subsequently specially permitted by the Commander. (6) All other goods, nothing excepted, were to be left in the hand of the Commissaris to be used for the use of the Dutch East India Company, especially all artillery, arms of all kinds, ammunitions of war, slaves, she-slaves, Canarins, and generally all goods of the King of Portugal. (7) All married women and daughters of free birth were to be transported to Cochin or Goa. (8) Cranganore and the lands north were at that time to be under the control of the Zamorin and the lands to the south under the control of the reigning Rajah of Cochin who enjoyed Portuguese protection.

Treaty with the Zamorin After the capture of Cranganore, the following contract was entered into between Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens and the Zamorin in January 1663 :—[8]

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6 *Patappattu* page 22, lines 30 to 32.

7 The term '*Topasses*' is explained in Chapter XVII *infra*.

8 Document No. 253 in Heeres Vol. II, page 199 and Dutch Treaties in Mackenzie *MSS.* page 324.

"There shall be perpetual peace between the Dutch Company and the Zamorin. His Highness will assist the Dutch with 2000 Nayars and 300 coolies for daily work and will exclude all other nations from the trade in pepper which article was to be delivered to the Dutch only at the market price. The Zamorin will however be at liberty to export a certain quantity on his account with the consent of the Governor. No duty will be paid on pepper by the garrison at Cranganore, but this being withdrawn, other arrangements will be agreed on. His Highness will furnish all the materials required to repair the fortification and will provide the Dutch within 25 days with 20000 fathom of bunt (?) together with the necessary provisions for the army. The Zamorin further promises to demolish the fortification of Cranganore as soon as Cochin shall be captured. The Company engaged to preserve for the Zamorin, until 1st November next, the towns of Cranganore, Palliport and Vypeen."

APPENDIX

The Palyath Achan's undertaking mentioned in Foot-note 1:

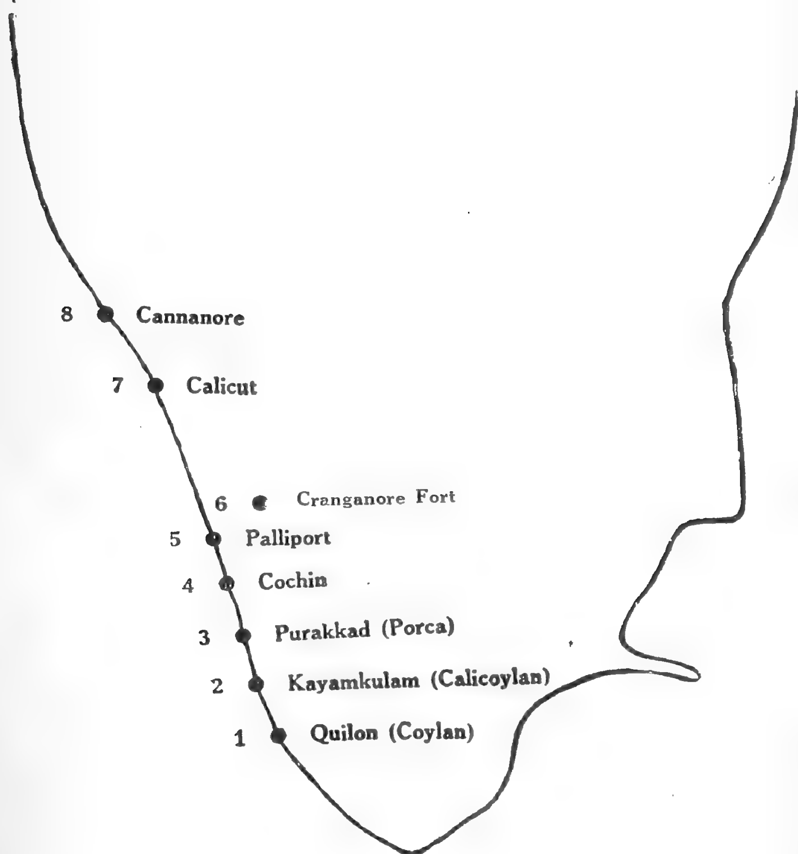
"I, Palyet Come Menone, Chief of the island of Baypin, being in this position of embarrassment: to wit that the Portuguese and other enemies round about have done great injury to my land and my subjects, and acted as enemies and harassed them; for which reasons finding myself powerless to save myself and stand against the said enemies and compelled to look out for a powerful nation which will maintain and protect my land and subjects; with this object in view, I seek and accept the Honourable United Netherlands East Indian Company for my protectors in order that they may in time of need protect and shield me, including the king Zamorin * against all mischievous people and enemies of my state, herewith yielding and surrendering to the same Hon'ble Company my person, land and subjects.

* The passage is not quite clear in the original. Apparently the reference is to a prior engagement of the Palyet with the Zamorin. Both these chiefs joined the Dutch in 1662-63 and assisted them against the Portuguese. In the 9th article of a treaty with the Zamorin, dated 7th of March 1664, it is stipulated: "In this treaty shall be included the king of Cranganore, the Palyet etc." (Galletti, page 121, foot-note.)

" The Council of this defensive fleet, in view of the instant suit, and earnest persistence of the Palyet Come Menone, Chief of the island of Baypin and Chenotty, has, with the approbation of the Right Worshipful the Governor-General and Council of India, taken him under the protection of the United Netherlands East India Company always so far only as the Hon'ble Company has power and occasion with God's help, provided he assures us on his part, that neither he nor his legal successors shall ever make a treaty or alliance with the Portuguese, directly or indirectly, under such penalty as justice will require, and more especially on the security of his land, person, subjects and property, belike as he has made surrender of these to us in a separate ola. On board ship the Muscaatboom', 12th March 1661. (At the bottom of the page) Conditionally on the approbation of the Worshipful Members of the Council of India. (Signed) Ryklof van Goens." (In the margin) The Hon'ble Company's seal and underneath this: By order of his Worship." (Signed. M. Huysman, sworn clerk.)

South India to Illustrate the Dutch Conquest of Malabar

A ROUGH SKETCH



1 Quilon (Coylan)
2 Kayamkulam (Calicoylan)
3 Purakkad (Porca)
4 Cochin
5 Palliport
6 Cranganore Fort
7 Calicut
8 Cannanore

CHAPTER VIII

CONQUEST OF COCHIN AND CANNANORE

The fall of Cranganore was logically followed by the attack on Cochin. It may be pertinent here to give a brief account of the place.

Cochin harbour was formed in 1341 by an extraordinary flood bringing a large volume of water from the Ghats. Cochin attained its importance only after its discovery in 1500 by the Portuguese who anchored their flotilla off the town on Christmas Eve of that year. From a fishing village the Portuguese raised it to a place of great commercial importance by building forts, churches and commercial houses.[1] In 1653 a decade before the Dutch capture of Cochin, Sir Thomas Herbert the Englishman described the place "as the chief place the Portuguese, have in the Indies where is the greatest trade of spices, drugs and all other merchandise." Under the Portuguese, Cochin where they built a fort called Fort Emmanuel became the greatest centre for the export of Malabar produce to all parts of the world. Next to Goa it was the important emporium of Portuguese trade. Traffic must have been very considerable because ships to and from Portugal, Malacca and China touched here. The whole southern Armada made Cochin its resting place for a few days. There was

[1] Note on Vissher's Letter No. 3, by K. P. Padmanabha Menon in his history of Kerala, Vol. I and the Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin by W. S. Hunt, Vol. I, Kottayam, 1920.

also a great direct traffic with Bengal. Thirty ships or more used to come to Cochin every year from Bengal, and every ship brought a capital of more than 20,000 xeraphins. Thus the value of Bengal exports alone to Cochin was 600,000 xeraphins, or 130,000 pounds. Portuguese Cochin compared with some of the best cities in India. It is not surprising that the Dutch turned their attention to the capture of the great city.

Dutch Advance to Cochin Accounts of the expeditions to Cochin have come to us from several persons who actually took part in the same. It was thought wise to attack the city before the Portuguese could recover from the shock produced by the terrific display of Dutch arms at Cranganore. Accordingly, the victors of Cranganore moved southward, and crossing *Chengalazhi*, came over to the island of Vypeen north of Cochin. In Vypeen the Dutch built a fort, called *New Orange*, upon the bank of the river. From there they battered Cochin, the river being not above a musket shot over. The Zamorin appeared with his forces at *Elankunnapuzha*. The Dutch positively declared to the Nayars living in the neighbourhood that they were no enemies of theirs and their lawful king but only of the Portuguese and that they had no intention to hurt the Nayars. But this made no impression on them. They appeared in arms against the Dutch and several times attacked the Dutch with the fury of mad men, having become intoxicated with doses of opium. They threw themselves in, we are told, among the Dutch ranks thrusting themselves upon their swords and pikes "not like men, but rather like wild boars or enraged bears". The people of Cochin had put up defences at a very large pagoda not far from the Mattanchery palace (built with mortar and brick in the European way). Notwithstanding this fury, the Dutch attacked them in this advantageous post with such undaunted courage that they chased them from

thence ; the casualties of the defenders were 400 killed and many more wounded.

The Fight at the Cochin Palace The *Moottatavazhi* prince had already requested the Admiral who had taken his residence in the *Pandarapparambu* house not to molest the Queen and the Brahmins. His idea was that they should enter the palace with the white flag and take the leading members of the royal family prisoners. So the Dutch marched to the palace. But the reigning king chose to die fighting valiantly after having prevailed on his nephew, Prince Godavarma, who was ashamed of his failure at Cranganore and was longing to retrieve that disaster by some heroic achievement, to overcome his inclination and to escape to the opposite shore. Several valiant Nayar leaders died fighting. The Queen-mother was taken prisoner in the fray by Henry Van Rheede, famous alike for his martial, administrative and literary achievements. While Baldæus says that the Queen-mother was kept in custody for some time, the author of *Patappattu* merely says that the *Moottatavazhi* prince paid his respects to the Queen-mother who pardoned him. The fight at the palace took place on the 27th Makaram, 837 M.E. [2]

Attack on Portuguese Cochin Afterwards the Dutch began to make their attacks against Portuguese Cochin in three places. In the first place, on the land side near the Church of St. Thomas, the attack was launched under the direct command of the Admiral General Van Goens. Secondly, along the sea side, a section of the assailants was led by Ysbrand Gotsken, and thirdly, near the river, the Commander Roodhaas led the assault. The garrison of Cochin was not so much frightened as the Dutch had flattered themselves, but made a brave resistance. After some time spent in making trenches and installing batteries, the Dutch

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[2] *Patappattu* page 33, lines 30—33.

resolved on surprising the enemy on the side near the river. The first Sunday in February was appointed for the purpose. Captain Peter Wash was ordered to begin the assault with a certain detachment at four o'clock in the morning. But they could reach the place only after sunrise. The Portuguese took alarm; and being sustained by fresh troops drawn thither by the ringing of the church bells, gave such a warm reception to the Hollanders that after a most obstinate engagement they were forced to retreat with the loss of several of their best men, and among them the captain himself. It may be added that Van Goens the Admiral General himself and the Commander Roodhaas were also both in great danger. The former received several shots on his hand and the latter barely escaped being thrown into a deep well. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the Dutch continued making trenches with all imaginable speed, though not without great difficulty caused by the marshy grounds. Thus a good number of men perished. Already 200 had been left sick and wounded at Quilon, and considerable garrisons were left at Cranganore and in the fort of New Orange at the extremity of the isle of Vypeen. The Portuguese resistance had also been stronger than expected. The old spirit of Pacheco and Almeyda showed itself and the defenders fought bravely for weeks together. Nevertheless the Dutch continued to batter the town incessantly with their great artillery and to omit nothing calculated to annoy the enemy. Nearly two months were spent in the siege and the number of Dutch soldiers was reduced to 1400.

Raising of the Siege The rainy season was fast approaching. The event became uncertain, and several things necessary for carrying on the siege, specially fuses, were lacking. The Portuguese position was improving. Their ally, the Rajah of Purakkad (Chembakasseri), reinforced them with 6000 Nayars. Five ships arrived from

Goa, and eluding the vigilance of the Dutch, got in. The men were safely landed and were received with great joy and acclamation. The situation was made worse for the Dutch by the rough sea during the monsoon and also because they had lost many people including their Major, Peter Wash.[3] Hence, after mature deliberation, it was judged necessary to raise the siege and delay the execution thereof to a more convenient time. Accordingly, the Dutch cannon and ammunition and other movables were sent aboard upon floats. The general made a safe retreat in the night time without beat of drum.

The Ruse of a Jew and a Dutch Soldier A certain Jew and a Dutch soldier ingeniously contrived to keep the enemy entirely in the dark about the retreat which was being effected. The Jew kept the clock of St. Thomas Church striking as usual. The soldier, Henry Boerdorp the gunner, went the rounds all through the night shouting "Who is there? Stand". This so deceived the enemies' sentinels that they had not the least suspicion of the Dutch retreat. All the Dutch forces got safely aboard without the loss of as much as one man except a native slave.

Departure of Van Goens and its Effects It was almost noon before the Portuguese were convinced of the retreat. Having left a sufficient garrison for the guard of the fort at New Orange and another at Cranganore under the command of Captain Verspreet and constituted *Peter du Pon*, a brave soldier, Commander-in-chief of all the Dutch in those places, Van Goens sailed to Quilon; that place being likewise provided for, he took his course towards Batavia.[4] Cranganore was now ruled by the Zamorin. The Vatakkumkur chief who had essayed to march to Cochin had to retreat. Of the two Nambudiris Ariyati and Muriyamangalam who had been false to the reigning house, the former

[3] Albercht Herport in Reisebeschreibungen, Vol. V, page 94.

[4] Nieuhof and Baldaeus.

was imprisoned by the Vettattu princes (the usurpers at Cochin) after the departure of the Dutch; the latter succeeded in effecting his escape. As soon as Godavarma, who had escaped to Palluruthi and thence to Muttam, came to know of the retreat of the Dutch, he returned to Cochin.[5]

The Portuguese after the Dutch Retreat The Portuguese had at first looked upon the Dutch retreat as a mere feint to draw them out of the town into an ambush; but, when they realised that the Dutch had actually left, they discharged all their cannon round the walls and destroyed the Dutch works and trenches. They also cut down all trees and edifices which they found to be an obstacle to them during the siege. They further took care to have their fortifications repaired and strengthened against the subsequent attacks of the Dutch.

Nieuhof back at Quilon After the siege was raised, land forces and ships of the Dutch were ordered to places where their presence was judged to be most necessary. Nieuhof who had been appointed Director of the Company at Quilon proceeded to that place. The fortifications of Kayamkulam were strengthened and a garrison put in it. Nieuhof arrived at Quilon on the 7th of January, 1663. He gave immediate orders for the repairing of the castle and such houses as belonged to those employed by the Company. He settled everything that might tend to the establishment of traffic with the Queen of Quilon and neighbouring princes, it having been his mission to "treat with them concerning the most convenient methods and to enter into a confederacy with them for that purpose".

Strengthening of the Dutch Position in Malabar by a New Treaty with Kayamkulam Fresh efforts were made to strengthen the influence of the Company on the west coast

[5] *Patappattu* page 36, lines 3—4.

of India. Although Van Goens left Malabar in the beginning of March for Batavia *via* Ceylon, he left behind worthy representatives in Adriaan Roodhaas and Ysbrand Godsken. The latter concluded the undermentioned treaty with Kayamkulam on the 31st March.[6]

" Renovation or renewal of the old contract entered into between the deceased King of Kayamkulam and the Company in the year 1643 besides further alliance made between the present King and the above mentioned Company agreed and concluded with the Commandeur Ysbrandt Godsken and the merchant Jacob Borghorst commissioned thereto by the Lord Rijcklof Van Goens, ordinary councillor of India, superintendent, Admiral Chief Commander and Express Commissaris.

1. That the old contract entered into between the deceased King of Kayamkulam and the Company in 1643 shall continue to be in full force and that, for further alliance and declaration between both nations, the following terms are concluded and agreed.

2. That all the pepper produced in the above mentioned King's lands shall be sold to no one other than the above mentioned Company and specially to no European nation as English, French, Portuguese or others whoever it may be.

3. That by land or water by any lake no pepper shall be carried to any places or residences where the above named nations might carry it, especially to Porca, Cochin, etc., and the King shall forbid all the merchants doing so, so that the above mentioned clause might be carried out.

4. And if it should happen that any of the same merchants tried to carry pepper contrary to this treaty and

[6] Document No. 256, Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando Indicum* Vol. II, page 207 (Reproduced from the Contract book) and Dutch Treaties in Mackenzie MSS. page 327.

were caught hold of by the Company or by the King, that pepper shall be confiscated to the use of the King and the Company, each side getting half.

5. Besides this the Company was granted permission to build a stone store-house of such height, thickness and length as the King shall permit on the side of the river, it being understood that the same is considered necessary to keep their pepper in security.

All this was made, executed and agreed between the above-mentioned King of Kayamkulam on the one side and the above-named representative on behalf of the Dutch East India Company on the other side and are herewith made and signed by both sides on four similar copies, two in the Malayalam language and two in Dutch, whereof, for the fulfilment of the same, one in Dutch and one in Malayalam shall remain resting in the King's hands and the other two with the Company. Signed on the last day of March, 1662, in the Dutch Company's factory at Kayamkulam in the Malayalam characters by the king of Kayamkulam. On the side was signed Ysbrant Godsken and underneath in the absence of the merchant Jacob Borghorst signed Jurisen Hondrick Wellingh."

Godavarma Returns to Cochin After the retreat of the Dutch from Cochin, Prince Godavarma returned to the palace at Cochin and performed the funeral rites of his kinsmen who perished at the palace in the recent fight with the Dutch. The boats of the Rajah of Chembakasseri (Purakkad) and the Portuguese harried Vypeen which was under the protection of the Zamorin and caused great desolation.

Second Dutch Expedition to Cochin When it was summer, Veerakerala Varma, the senior prince of the Moottatavazhi line, once more proceeded to Colombo and

persuaded the authorities to send another expedition to Cochin. Thus "the season for action drawing near, and everything being prepared for a vigorous action," says Nieuhof, "the siege of Cochin was resolved upon the second time." For this purpose, on the 12th August, all the soldiers (1200) and officers were commanded to leave Batavia and sail on the 15th August under Admiral Jacob Hustaert, late governor of the Moluccas and Amboyna and afterwards holder of the same office in Ceylon, with Captain Peter Dupon and Henry Van Rheede with a squadron of 11 ships (Ysbrand Godsken Commodore).[7] Van Goens who was left behind at Batavia by reason of sickness was ordered to follow with three more ships with all imaginable speed. After two months, Hustaert's fleet sighted land between Goa and Cannanore. After two days they came to Cranganore, and thence to Cochin. Prince Veera Kerala Varma who sailed from Ceylon with the Dutch to Malabar died on board ship at Andikadavu near Cochin to the great distress of the Dutch and their allies. The Dutch once more entered the Cochin palace. Godavarma crossed over to the eastern side of the backwater and joined the fleet[8] of the Chembakasseri Raja. One Dutch officer was ordered by the Admiral to meet the Purakkad (Chembakasseri) fleet. In this encounter the Dutch were worsted and retreated to Cochin.

The Portuguese Strengthen Their Position at Cochin It may be mentioned here that, during the interval between the retreat of the Dutch in March, 1662, and the commencement of the second siege, the Portuguese had done much to improve their position. The place had been strengthened by additional fortifications. The Portuguese

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7 Herport's narrative cited above.

8 The 'Fleet' of Chembakasseri was composed not of ships of the Portuguese type, but of country boats for which the Raja's territory was famous.

had cut down all the cocoanut trees and destroyed small houses that stood in the previous year at the end of the town so that the view was cleared from all those obstructions. Besides, it was found that all the bulwarks to the south side were provided with an outwork of palisades and in addition with a tolerable ditch and much preparation had been made for defence. The continual shooting on the Dutch works indicated that there was no lack of gunpowder. The town was well furnished with foodstuffs.[9] The river was open and daily, from Anjikaimal where Godavarma was staying and other places, all necessaries including sulphur for the preparation of gunpowder were provided. Thus the town was very well prepared for defence.

The Dutch Dispositions At Vypeen On its way to Cochin, the army sent from Batavia disembarked at Palliport where there was a fort which the Dutch had built with palm trunks. The Dutch then proceeded south and encamped at Vypeen just over against Cochin. After having landed at Vypeen, Commandant Coosgen with his people had already been entrenched there. Every night several shallops and other vessels well equipped for war were sent into the river so that the Portuguese were hindered from going in or out.

The Dutch at Cochin On the 25th of October, the invaders came near the town of Cochin (only one hour's distance); as the Portuguese perceived this, they made trenches along the sea shore. At day break the Dutch sailed to the land. The enemy were shooting heavily and the Dutch were forced to land. Many of the latter got wounded. The sea was very rough. The first that sprang to the land was a native of Amboyna with sword in hand. One by one followed him. The Portuguese were hiding in

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[9] See the narrative furnished by Hustaert and Van Goens inserted in the *Batavia Dag Register* for 1663.

their trenches. Several Malabar leaders in whom the Portuguese had placed great confidence were slain and the rest took to flight. The Portuguese seeing this withdrew to the town. Many of them too lost their lives and many were made prisoners. Towards noon, the Dutch took shelter from the burning sun under the palm trees and refreshed their throats with cocoanut water. There was a church near by dedicated to St. Jago. Towards evening the Dutch came near the town. The Portuguese welcomed them with shots. Nobody was hurt thereby. There was another church (St. Joan) and a convent inside the town which the enemy had evacuated and set on fire, but it was saved by the Dutch and made a dwelling place for the Admiral. That night the Dutch kept watch. In the morning several of the watchers were missed and later on their headless bodies were found in the palm groves. The Dutch put up palisades all around. Next day Major Peter Dupon marched with Singhalese in front of the pagoda of the King of Cochin. This, besides being a temple of Malabar, was also a fortress and the Dutch took possession of it. There were nice buildings all around the town with luxuriant trees, especially cocoanut trees, which served specially for palisades. On the 16th November the Dutch put upon the south side of the town a battery well fortified with palisades and filled plenty of sand banks. As they were thus busily engaged, they were unexpectedly attacked by the Portuguese. The Dutch took weapons; those who were at work used their tools for defence till the enemies retired. On the 25th November, Captain Ferdinando arrived with his brigades from Quilon. On the same day another ship brought Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens. He came with 500 Europeans and 300 natives from Quilon. As soon as he landed with music, three salvoes were given in his honour. After his inspection, ho ordered batteries to be put up at other places also and caused them to be protected with trenches

so that the Dutch could pass to and fro in safety. Thus they encompassed the whole town round with batteries, plying more than 50 pieces, continually aiming in particular at the place called Calvetty, near the river, which was the weakest spot.

The Dutch Assault Continues The Dutch had begun to batter the place most furiously in November as they were desirous of reducing it before they received news of conclusion of peace between the two nations in Europe. As the Dutch had in the previous year received instructions from the Governors of their Company to allow free commerce and liberty of religion to all such Portuguese as would submit to them, the Dutch now proposed to the besieged that they would be left in full possession of their churches except one, provided they would receive a Dutch garrison. This was acceptable to some. But Ignatio Sermento, the Governor, refusing to comply with it, the Dutch resolved to lose no time to reduce the place by force.[10]

Portuguese Tactics On the 3rd December the Portuguese came at night towards the church of St. Thomas. Several of the Dutch troops were shot down. Otherwise, there were no losses and the Dutch were busy shooting night and day. On the night of the 5th of December there came to them a Dutchman from the town. The previous year this man had helped the other party. After having asked pardon from the Admiral, he gave the besiegers much information; for instance, he told them that the Portuguese had sent to the other side of the river called Anjikaimal the vessels sent to them by the King of Purakkad and the Prince Godavarma. On hearing this the Admiral sent several ships with munitions and also two ships from Calicut. Two other ships were awaiting them on the river in front

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[10] Foster : English Factories 1661—64, pages 141—42, and Baldaeus.

of the pagoda. One of these ships sailed through; the other stuck in the sand near the town. As it was moonlight, the Portuguese observed this and fired at the Dutch rapidly with cannon and muskets. The water in the sea now increased and the Dutch ships could sail again. But many were wounded and the Captain on board, one quarter master, one corporal, four soldiers and five servants lost their lives.

An Eye Witness's Account The siege is described at some length by Tavernier who derived his information from Rachepot, a soldier of Aix in Provence, who was in the garrison of Cochin who effected his escape after he was sentenced to the cruel punishment of mounting the wooden horse for three days. The Dutch began to entrench themselves and erect batteries taking shelter under small forts made of palms, one laid upon another with clay. They erected one near the church of St. Jean close to the sea and furnished it with four pieces of cannon; another was in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, where was the hospital for the wounded, and close by that of the sick. They also made a battery of seven pieces of cannon and two mortars in a quarter called Calvetty. Sometimes they threw bombs, sometimes stones, but the stones did by far the most injury to the men, besieged. This was the spot where the Dutch lost especially at a small riverside where they tried to make a bridge with sacks full of clay in order to be able to cross under cover on account of a point of the bastion which impinged directly upon the river. When the Portuguese perceived that the enemy entertained the design of assaulting the pepper store, they placed some men there with two guns; this resulted in the bridge scheme being given up and in other measures being adopted. Five weeks elapsed without anything important being accomplished, and when the Dutch delivered an assault at night, they were vigorously repelled and they lost many soldiers through the

fault of the Governor of Cranganore who commanded them and who was drunk when the attack was made.

Final Stage of the Dutch Assault The Dutch General promptly caused those soldiers who had survived the assault to withdraw in a boat. Two months later, he resolved to make another assault upon the place where the last attack had been made; and he sent a large frigate to fetch reinforcements who were encamped in the direction of Vypeen. But by accident the frigate struck on a bank of sand and foundered. Thus many men were lost. Those who could swim landed near Cochin, not being able to land elsewhere; they were in all about ten men including soldiers and sailors and the Portuguese made prisoners of them. The General did not on this account abandon his intention of delivering an assualt. Having disembarked all the sailors, he gave to some short pikes, to others hand grenades and to some swords with the intention of making an attack on the following night. But a French lieutenant named St. Martin represented that, if they made a night assault, they would in the darkness fall into the holes which the besieged might have made in the ramparts and that by day they would run much less risk; his advice was followed, and the General postponed the affair to the following day. As soon as the sun had risen, he ranged his troops in battle order, and at about ten o'clock began the assault with four companies, each consisting of about 1,500 men. The Dutch lost many in this last attack, and the Portuguese still more as they defended themselves bravely, being aided by 200 soldiers of the Dutch army who had deserted to them in revenge for having been kept out of 6½ months' pay in consequence of the loss of Toven (in north Java); without these soldiers who constituted an important aid to the enemy, the town could not have held out for two months. The ablest of the defenders was a Dutch Engineer who on account of the bad treat-

ment he had received from his own side was constrained to pass over to that of the enemy.

Capitulation of Cochin The Dutch who had entered Cochin on the Calvetty side and were already masters of a rampart remained all night under arms; and on the following day the town capitulated. An English narrative furnished by the Surat merchants says, "At last, seeing it bootless to go to beat them out, they consulted to defend themselves by new and more inward fortifications, and might possibly have done it, but in the meantime, the married men treated for themselves and put abroad a white flag on the other side of the town. Thereupon, they agreed on terms of surrender and in two days more surrendered to the Dutch, laying down their arms with the keys of the city a mile out at the Admiral's feet." Thus fell on the 7th January, 1663, Cochin, the earliest Portuguese capital in India. Though the Portuguese Governor Ignatio Sermento Carvalho fought valiantly, he was forced to surrender. Reports of the riches brought from Cochin to Vingurla by the Dutch reached even the ears of Sivaji. So great was the impression made by the Dutch capture of Cochin.

Importance of Van Goens' Military Operations These and subsequent military operations resulted in the transformation of Malabar in the Dutch list of 1650 to the later Commandeury. The Malabar of the earlier list, as Galletti says, meant only commercial residences of unfortified factories at Cannanore, Kayamkulam, and perhaps elsewhere. Malabar later came to mean, for the Dutch, the strong town of Cochin, with territory won from the Portuguese or from Native princes, and fortresses at Cannanore, Chetwa, Cranganore and Quilon.

Causes of Dutch Success One factor which greatly contributed to the success of the Dutch was the allegiance

to their side of Anjikaimal at whose headquarters Prince Godavarma who was hoping with Portuguese assistance to become King of Cochin had his residence. The Dutch attack on Anjikaimal succeeded. The adherents of Godavarma glad and evacuated that fertile land, whose inhabitants, being loyal subjects of the King of Cochin, immediately took the Dutch side. Godavarma fled and was immediately taken under the protection of the Raja of Purakkad. Lucas Van Waarden, Councillor and Secretary of the expedition to Malabar, makes the following statement on the 4th January, 1663 :—

"There appeared before me the person who has signed below, Anjikaimal,[11] who has made protestation and confesses to be and remain now and for all time a faithful upright friend and servant of the Dutch East India Company, forsaking all friendship and correspondence with the Portuguese, Godavarma, Purakkad and their futher adherents for which purpose he, the abovementioned lord of Anjikaimal, being authorised thereto, appeared before me, and in his honour's name has done homage in all deference, and accordingly been accepted by me as friend and ally of the Hon'ble Company on the authority of the Lord Admiral and Commander-in-Chief, Rijcklof Van Goens, promising in his name to keep and maintain in truth the said Kaimal, his quality, dignity, and honour. Executed at Anjikaimal this 4th January in the year 1663 and exchanged to both sides. Signed, Lucas Van Waarden, Councillor and Secretary of the expedition. On the side, three lines of Malayalam characters against which stood written: this

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[11] Of the Anjikaimals or five Kaimals or lords, the Chief was the Cheranellur Karta who still exists. They ruled over Ernakulam and the territories to the north and east of it. See foot note to Chapter IV, also Achyuta Menon: Cochin State Manual, Ernakulam, 1911, page 372.

The document recording the submission of Anjikaimal occurs in Document No. 262 of the *Corpus Diplomaticum* and the event is also referred to on page 330 of Dutch Treaties in Mackenzie *Mss.*

the signature of the Paliyatter; as witness also, lower, a Malayalam signature wherewith stood written, this the signature of Pullel[12] Achan regiadoor of Anjikaimal. Under the signature of the Hon'ble Van Waarden stands a Malayalam signature near which stands written the signature in hand of Palongett, regiadoor of Anjikaimal, and in the midst of all the signatures stood the Company's seal printed in red lac.

It is interesting to note that as further causes of the fall of Cochin are mentioned the want of union among the Malabar princes, the treachery of the Palyat Achan, and the refusal of the English admiral Marlborough to help. Hence, the failure of the Portuguese to hand over Bombay to the English was justified on the ground that "My Lord of Marlborough did not assist them with the fleet under his command for the succour of Cochin."

The Terms of the Surrender of Cochin The circumstances in which Cochin capitulated and the terms thereof may now be mentioned. On the 7th January, under a peace flag, there appeared in the Dutch camp the Portuguese Serjeant Major to open negotiations, and the same evening the treaty of surrender was signed by them "as soldiers who had diligently spoken freely but not otherwise than in the quality of vanquished people." This was ratified by Van Goens on the 8th January.[13]

Articles of agreement made and concluded between E. Francisco Gomes Sermento, Captain of a Company of infantry, besides Marco de Phino, burger of Cochin, delegate of Ignatio Sermento de Carvalho, Captain General of the town of Cochin, on behalf of His Majesty the King of Portugal, on the one side and Mr. Jacob Hustaert, Councillor

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[12] The family still exists and its senior member is called Pullel Achan.

[13] *Batavia Dag Register* for 1663, page 122. There is an entry in Foster's English Factories (1661-1664), page 115, that Cochin surrendered on 28 December 1662 (old style).

Extraordinary of India, representative of the General Rijcklof Van Goens, Ordinary Councillor of India on the other side.

1. The town of Cochin shall be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, old privileges, revenues, lands, with the documents and papers relating thereto, and whatever else is held in the name of the king of Portugal, all rights and titles thereto being ceded to the Dutch General or His Worship's representative.

2. All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals, movable and immovable property, slaves, and whatever else there may be shall be handed over as above.

3. All free persons who have worn arms shall swear not to serve against the Netherlands in India for two years.

4. All the soldiers and others belonging to the army shall march out with flying colours, drums beating, fuses alight, bullets in their mouths, and two guns to a convenient place outside the town and lay down their arms beneath the standard of the General.

5. All true-born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe.

6. All married Portuguese and Mestics (assimilated half castes) shall proceed to Goa and may take their bed and bedding and such other articles as the General and his council may permit.

7. All free Topasses (semi-assimilated half castes and Indians) and Canarins (Konkanies) shall remain at the disposal and discretion of the General.

8. The clergy may take with them their images and church ornaments except those of gold and silver.

9. All free persons and all persons belonging to the church now wandering in the country shall, if they be

subjects of the King of Portugal, be comprehended in this treaty.[14]

Flight of Godavarma; Other Princes Reconciled to the Dutch The Vatakkumkur prince, accompanied by the King of Idapalli, on hearing of the capture of Cochin, came with their fleet of boats to Ernakulam (Anjikaimal) in the land of Cherukattu Kaimal. The reigning princes of the Vettattu family were already expelled from Cochin. The Vatakkumkur prince and companions paid visits to the Moottatavazhi prince, saw the Admiral at Elankunnapuzha, and took leave of the Zamorin at Cranganore. The Admiral and the Moottatavazhi prince proceeded to Karappuram and expelled from there Godavarma who proceeded to Ambalapuzha. From there the fugitive prince made his way to Trivandrum. The huge flotilla of the Chembakasseri prince was stopped at Allepey by the Admiral who naturally recalled the previous defeat of the Dutch by the Chembakasserri fleet at Ernakulam. He went to Alleppey to fight the Chembakasseri prince. Curiously enough, the Dutch Admiral and the Chembakasseri prince got reconciled and the Moottatavazhi prince was firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors.

Alleged Dutch Cruelty At this stage it may be advisable to mention certain charges against the behaviour of the Dutch at Cochin after the siege and the Dutch reply to the same. Tavernier says that the ships which had conveyed to Goa the Portuguese who had surrendered Cochin returned laden with spoil and that this was contrary to the terms of the capitulation which provided that they should leave the place with arms and baggage and be conducted to Goa without anything being taken from them. But, as soon as they were at sea, the Dutch took all that

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[14] The date in the Malabar era of this surrender is mentioned in the *Patappattu* (page 45) as Friday the 28th Dhanu 838.

these poor people had, and, having strictly searched both men and women without the least respect for sex, returned laden with booty. The Dutch reply to this charge is to be found in Henry Van Quellenburgh's *Vindiciae Batavica* or Refutation of the Treatise of T.B. Tavernier (Mackenzie MSS.). Quellenburgh's defence is as follows: "It is undoubtedly true that Cochin surrendered by capitulation, but the same contained no such stipulation as Mr. Tavernier tells us here. The military men conditioned for themselves that they should be permitted to march out of Cochin with all the military honours and signs of war; namely with unfurled colours, drums beating, lighted matches and laden field pieces, and that, on coming outside the glacis, they were to lay down their arms, the officers only to keep their swords; further that the officers and natural Portuguese should, as had been done before, be sent back to Portugal etc. But the other citizens and native inhabitants, because the military had forgotten to include them in the capitulations and further because they had not capitulated themselves, were ordered to assemble together with their best movables into twenty or thirty of the principal houses and churches on the absolute condition that they should be sent either to Goa, Chaul, Bassein, etc. only with their clothes and must leave behind all their jewels, gold, silver, slaves, etc. The Topasses or native Christians (sic) were ordered to remain dwelling in the town as heretofore. Further, it was conceded that those inhabitants who wished to remain under the obedience of the Hon'ble Company should be at liberty to stay within their houses and that, moreover, proper care should be taken of the sick and the wounded. To the Franciscans the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion within the town was granted during their stay there and until their embarkation and departure; at the same time protection was promised to them against the wantonness of the Dutch

soldiers and sailors; it was furthermore granted to them and to all the Portuguese clergy to remove and take along with them unhurt and unmolested all the images from their churches; and to carry moreover with them all their church ornaments, the remains of the saints and other such urns, all that further belonged to their church and religion." Thus the Dutch defence would be that what the Dutch took from the Portuguese on board ship were things which they were expected to leave behind at Cochin. Though they were technically right, the impression remains that the treatment which the victorious Dutch meted out to the vanquished Portuguese was callous.

Alleged Illegality of the Capture Another charge against the Dutch is that the conquest of Cochin and Cannanore after the conclusion of peace between Holland and Portugal in Europe on the 6th August, 1661 was illegal. This point was raised by the Portugues Viceroy of Goa in a letter which he wrote to the Governor-General at Batavia on the 18th January 1664.[15] The Viceroy asked for the restoration of Cochin and Cannanore on the ground that they were taken after the publication of the peace in the Netherlands on the 14th December 1662. The English factors at Purakkad in their letter to Surat dated the 20th January 1664 also say, "It is current news here that Cochin was taken in time of peace and that it will be restored again to the Portugals". Galletti has shown convincingly that the Portuguese claim was invalid on grounds identical with those mentioned by the Governor-General at Batavia in his reply to the Viceroy of Goa.[16] The 6th article of the treaty stipulated that hostilities between the two parties were to cease in Europe within two months of the treaty, and in other parts of world from the date of the publication

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[15] *Batavia Dag Register* for 1664, page 85.

[16] Galletti, page 18.

of the treaty. It was published in the East Indies only on the 14th March, 1663, that is more than two months after the capture of Cochin and one month after that of Cannanore. So these conquests were legal. The Portuguese continued to press their claims. In the treaty between France and Portugal concluded on the 31st March 1667, the Most Christian King promised to endeavour to get Cochin and Cannanore restored to Portugal. The question was finally set at rest by the treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands on the 30th July 1669, article 1 of which stated that Cochin and Cannanore should remain in the hands of the Dutch East India Company until not only the war indemnity fixed by the treaty of 1661 had been paid, but also a special indemnity for the cost of the Company's fleet which had taken them and of all the operations. In his memoir dated 1781 Moens quotes from the National History of the Dutch (*Vaderlandsche Historie*, 13th volume, page 378) "that in the year 1669 it was agreed between Holland and Portugal that Cochin and Cannanore could remain Dutch as a pledge for arrears which were still due to the states by Portugal." [17]

Capture of Cannanore The last scene in the drama of Dutch military triumphs in Malabar was the capture of Cannanore. The *Plakkaat boek* contains the Governor-General J. Maatsuyker's decree on the 11th April 1663 proclaiming a day of thanks and intercession because of the capture of Cannanore. The event is thus described by Baldaeus. "The Hollanders, having now made themselves masters of Cranganore, Cochin and Quilon sailed in 1663 with a considerable fleet, and a good number of land forces under the command of Jacob Hustaert, Peter Dupon, Henry Van Rheede, and diverse other brave officers for Cannanore. Having landed their men and soon made them-

[17] Dutch Records No. 2, page 2, and Galletti, page 103.

selves masters of the city—which was without defence, they battered the fort with their great cannon but without any great success, the bastions and ditches on the landside being stout, and the rock and the fortifications on the sea impregnable. However after a siege of a few days, the Portuguese, seeing that by the taking of Cochin all hopes of relief were banished, surrendered upon honourable terms: and the Dutch, having put a garrison of 200 men into the fort, entered into a strict alliance with the king of Cannanore in 1664." The date of the surrender of Cannanore is mentioned in Foster's English Factories as 6th February 1663 (old style).

Note on Cochin

"Cochin lies on a spit of land bounded on the east and north-east by an extensive back-water on the north by a channel through which the back-water communicates with the sea between the spit and the island of Vypeen, on the west by the sea. Portuguese Cochin occupied a segment, being about one-third of a circle, of which the central part of the arc faced Vypeen, while the chord was a wall running nearly north-east and south-west dividing it from Native Cochin. On the south the sector did not continue quite till it met the arc on the sea, but the incomplete arc and chord were joined by a wall facing the land about a quarter of a mile long. The incomplete chord was about a mile long. The Portuguese had thus a mile and a quarter of land front in a direct line and about the same water front to defend, or following the walls and bastions, considerably more. The Portuguese had taken advantage of the respite to remove all houses and coconut trees round about the fort. A ditch had been dug along the land wall and the bastions there had been strengthened by outworks of palisades" Galletti, pages 12–13.

CHAPTER IX

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS IN COCHIN DOWN TO 1678

Liberation of Cochin from Portuguese Yoke Since the military expedition to Cochin was the immediate effect of an appeal for help made by the exiled Moottatavazhi prince, the restoration of that line to authority was an inevitable consequence of the Dutch victories in Malabar. The Moottatavazhi prince was publicly crowned by the Dutch Company in the town of Cochin on the 6th March 1663 according to the old usage and was accepted as king by all princes. Thus the long domination of the Portuguese came to a close.[1] The Cochin Royal Family always remembered with gratitude this act of deliverance as will be seen by the following reference in a letter to the Dutch authorities by the ruler of Cochin at the time of Tippu's invasion.

> "This is written to intimate the affairs of Perumpadappu[2] to the Commissaris who has come in obedience to the States General and the Prince of Orange and Nassau. In the days of our forefathers when the Portuguese were ruling in Cochin Fort, they joined our enemies and began to act against us as a result of which various mishaps, losses and insults happened to our state. Thereupon our ancestors, having learned that the Hon'ble Dutch Company was possessed of honesty,

[1] Batavia Dag Register, 1663, pages 181, 184 and 188.

[2] Titular name of the Cochin Royal Family.

courtesy and might, approached the Hon'ble Company and decided that in future the Company shall be friends of our state and there was established mutual trust between the two parties as a result of which the Company sent its forces which reduced to subjection the Portuguese forts, suppressed our enemies, and made the kingdom subject to us." (The Malayalam original is preserved at the Central Record Office, Ernakulam.)

Treaty of 1663 The following treaty was concluded between the restored Raja of Cochin and the Dutch Company on the 20th March, 1663.[3]

Treaty and perpetual convenant between the United Dutch East India Company by the Dutch Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens in the name of the Governor-General and Council of India on the one side and the King of Cochin Moottatavazhi and his princes on the other side.

1. There shall be a firm and everlasting peace, love, union and mutual confidence whereby both parties shall keep themselves secure.

2. The King of Cochin cedes the title of the town of Cochin and all the lands and islands placed under it by treaty, namely the Papen islands, Musquit island and Bendurthy in just the same manner as the Portuguese were possessed of, giving to the Company full authority over the same for all time without the king or his successors claiming any authority over them.

3. The King of Cochin acknowledges to have been restored by the Hon'ble Company as his protector.

4. The King of Cochin assures the Hon'ble Company that all the pepper and wild cinnamon produced in his land (from Porca to Cranganore) shall be delivered exclusively

[3] Document No. 273 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

to the Hon'ble Company and that the said pepper shall be shipped at Cochin in the Company's ships without any other nation in the world participating in it.

5. The King of Cochin authorised the Hon'ble Company to keep out all vessels and ships coming from the outer sea with opium and to give no admission to them without the consent of the contractors so that they be not baulked in their rights.

6. For keeping up the fourth and fifth clauses, the King of Cochin promises to contribute all help and assistance to his utmost power, and the Company promises to erect three fortresses, one to secure the Cranganore river at Palliport; another for securing the river of Porca, and a third at Baypeen opposite the town (Cochin) for protecting the river of Cochin or also at more places where it was necessary.

7. In the name of the Hon'ble Company, the Admiral promises to occupy, for the king and for the maintenance of the Contract, the town Cochin, Castello d'Sima[4] and also Palliport, Baypeen and Porca if it was judged necessary.

8. To the king of Cochin shall be paid such tolls and duties as have been customary from of old or shall hereafter be stipulated.

9. All the Christians, subject from of old to the town of Cochin and dwelling along the coast, shall remain solely under the jurisdiction of and under the judges placed at Cochin by the Company under the Governor of Ceylon.

10. If a heathen subject of the King of Cochin and a Christian subject of the Company come to a dispute, each shall be tried according to his custom and, if one of the

[4] Castello was at Edacochi six miles south of Cochin. Galletti, pages 13 and 186.

two comes to die or if one kills the other, then the murderer, be he Christian or heathen, shall be punished with death without any grace.

11. The minting of fannams shall be carried out by the King's mintmaster outside the town in the Cochin palace, and after subtracting the expenses the King shall enjoy the profits, nevertheless under the express condition that 1 supervisor or 2 lords shall keep the ways to it, and if a false coiner be caught anywhere, he shall be punished with death, of whatever race or caste he might be.

12. The King of Cochin promises to prevent the trans por of pepper and cinnamon by land.

13. The plain round the town that is now cleared of cocoanut palms shall be planted by no one without the consent of the Hon'ble Company.

14. No religious of the Romish persuasion shall be permitted in the lands of Cochin or in his jurisdiction except with the special consent of the Company and the Jesuits and all other European priests shall for all time remain expelled.

15. All debtors of the Company, whoever they might be, shall in all places be overtaken and arrested and, if any of them flees, the King shall trace them with all diligence and redeliver them. Similarly, if any Dutch men or slaves happen to run away.

16. The native merchants dealing with the Company shall not be burdened with any extraordinary burden beyond the usual ones except with the previous consent of the Hon'ble Company, but shall be protected under the Company.

17. This treaty shall be copied twice on silver olas and twice on paper in Malayalam and Dutch and be signed respectively by both parties.

Thus agreed and concluded and signed in the palace of the King of Cochin Sima and in the town of Cochin on the 20th March, 1663.

General Trend of Dutch Policy in Malabar The events of 1663 gave the Dutch a new position in Malabar. During the next fifteen years every effort was made by the Dutch to give a solid foundation to their power. The Memoir of Adriaan Van Rheede (1677) gives a clear account of the progress of the Dutch in Malabar during this period. The Dutch looked upon their military triumph in Malabar as ample justification for monopolistic control of the pepper trade of Malabar to the exclusion of all rival commercial agencies whether European or Asiatic. The bid for monopoly was a desperate venture bound eventually to fail. But for some years the Dutch believed alike in the justness and the practicability of those aims for the realisation of which much energy and thought were spent. But soon it became clear to them that the road to commercial monopoly was by no means smooth. Malabar princes who had for sometime submitted to what they considered an inevitable fate at last began to chafe at their subordination and dream of the potentialities of combined resistance; after 1669 it began to be perceived that the Dutch could by no means be sure of their continual success. Nevertheless, it was only after the lapse of one whole century that the Dutch gave up their ambitious design of being sole traders in Malabar.

Comments by English Merchants The monopolistic aim of the Dutch was not lost upon other European nations. Thus the English factors at Surat wrote to the Company on the 28th January 1664 as follows: [5]

"The Dutch intend to make it (pepper) their own as the spices of nutts (i.e. nutmegs) and mace; and to that

[5] Foster's English Factories, 1661—64, page 261, also Batavia Dag. Register, 1664, page 320.

extent have in their passes they give to the vessails that trade too and fro (been) prohibiting all cotton and opium to be transported down the coast (the two great commodities vendable upon the coast of Mallabar) and all pepper and *cassia lignam* to be brought thence."

The English factors at Purakkad further expound the situation thus.[6]

"The Dutch by their contract with their King will not suffer any buyers or sellers in any part of his country but themselves . . . . The Dutch have lined the whole coast with their factories, thereby to ingross all manner of profitable commodities to themselves, both of selling and buying and not giving passports to any that meddle with them they call the Companies commodities as cotton cloth, lead, opium, silk, sugar, angelyn (wild jack much used for ship-building) boards, etc.; and for pepper they have a design to contract with the inland kings not to let any pass the hills to the other coast; which doing, we may judge the hand they will make thereof . . . . The Malabars as yet are in good terms with them, because yet they are blind and senseless not finding the slavery they have brought themselves into by receiving in a nation amongst them that will toll the very meat they eat in a short time, and barre them from speaking any tongue but Dutch."

The depths of degradation to which, according to the envious English merchants, Cochin had sunk by reason of its submission to the Dutch, are portrayed by the English merchants at Purakkad as follows: [7]

"To number the insolencies committed by the Dutch against these foole-kings Malabarrs were matter of laughter or griefe, or both; to see the Dutch Company play Emperour

[6] Foster's English Factories, 1661—64, page 249.

[7] Letter from Purakkad to Surat dated 17th November 1663 in Foster's English Factories.

in Cochin etc. a king able to bring 100,000 Naires to the field and is now in their power allowed from the Dutch 15s. the day for all charges and service; they commanding the customs in the rivers, the royal rents and taxes and fines, judgements and executions, monopolies of tobacco, salt, wheat, etc. throughout all the country. In a word, all pallmeyroes (palmeira or palm-tree) each (and?) coco's (pay?) one Zerafine per cent; which will so much proffit them as they, and none but they, will supply the other coast from Cape to Porto Novo where they are sold for 14 ryalls of eight the 1000. They have ordered this throughout all the Malabarrs land; which hath so exasperated the naturall that quarrels have been between them and greater fires, I hope, will breake out for their destruction."

Dutch Plans in Malabar In his well-known Memoir on Malabar, Van Rheede describes the situation very clearly.[8] "It was found necessary to bind the numerous princes of Malabar to the Company by written agreements. They were thus made to enter into contract with the Company, some through pressure of arms as Quilon, Betimene, Porca, the Zamorin and Colastri; others out of voluntary friendship as Travancore, Calicoylan, some Cochin feudatories, the Cochin Ragia, Tekkenkur, etc. But even with regard to the latter, it was not without difficulty that, though bound by written documents, they were made to keep up their engagements without violating their promises and enabling the Company to enjoy the advantages promised. When the dread of the Company's arms was fresh in their minds, they would carry out their promises. But when they got accustomed to the withdrawal of those arms and the enjoyment of peace, they began to evade their promises. Differences also arose about the interpretation of the treaties."

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[8] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter V, page 10

The Dutch Claim for Monopoly Examined The general privileges which the Company, whether by agreement or conquest, enjoyed and tried to keep up were particularly concerned with the exclusion of all other Europeans. They did not like to share with others the fruits of such advantages which, they considered, were lawfully acquired by them. But the Company was affected by the refusal of princes to carry out agreements which they had entered into. The princes had promised not to admit other European nations to the trade. If this happened, the Company was to show its displeasure against the princes who broke their word and faith, and not against the European nation welcomed by them. Besides this, there were other privileges promised by the princes in their contracts viz. that the pepper shall be sold to no one other than the Company, and that they alone should bring opium to the country and sell it and that the wild cinnamon shall be wholly exterminated. But great differences arose between the Dutch and the lords of the land about the extent and manner of their compliance. The Dutch claim was that no one but the Dutch was entitled to export pepper, and that the Dutch were to fix the price of pepper; and the princes were bound, not only to prevent the export of pepper by others, but also to safeguard its delivery to the Dutch at prices fixed by them. But the princes were of a different view. They said that, while they accorded to the Company free trade in pepper, the Dutch must take from the merchants pepper at the prices which prevailed in the market as they could not compel any merchant; and that, if the Dutch came to an agreement with the inland merchants, they could see that nobody else was admitted to the trade. The relations between the Dutch and the princes with regard to opium were also similar. The lands adjoining the mountains and the sea were possessed of so many advantages that it was impossible to watch over them or to keep out pepper from them.

Hence, in all the contracts with these princes, the Dutch could get nothing more than the right of being the first in the trade with exclusion of all Europeans. But this was possible only to the south of the town of Cochin, and the Rajas to the north of Cochin broke all the contracts.[9]

Close Relations with Malabar Princes The progress of Dutch trade in Malabar thus necessitated close commercial relations with Malabar princes. They did not succeed equally in all kingdoms. But one prince, namely the King of Cochin, owed his restoration to the throne to Dutch arms, and with him the Dutch succeeded remarkably well. It was not mere conclusion of commercial agreements but the establishment of close political overlordship. During the years 1663–1678, Cochin fell completely under Dutch power.

Cochin and the Dutch Veera Kerala Varma (Birola of the Batavia Diary), Ruler of Cochin (1663–'87), was the prince most friendly to the Dutch. His life was crowded with sad events. This prince was brought by the Dutch Company from the mountains to Cochin and accepted as King, placed in full authority, and kept under the Company's protection, both sides confirming their voluntary friendship with written agreements. He was a mighty lord of people, lands, and allies, and, if he was powerful enough to assert his great dominion and had used the Company's might thankfully, and the Hon'ble Company wisely combined their might and friendship with his, there was no power in India, whether on water or land, which could injure either the Cochin kingdom or the Dutch Company. In fact, all the Malabar princes could have been made dependent on them, and the Hon'ble Company could have become an excellent counter-weight to keep all the kingdoms in rest and peace and to preserve and keep each in his own pro-

[9] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), chapters XLVII and XLVIII, page 36.

perty. To achieve this, Van Rheede did all that was possible and thinkable, first to restore the decayed pecuniary resources, then to bring the savage minds of the spoiled subjects to a new obedience, to uphold the authority of the king lost by several inland wars, and to support and restore his financial position and respectability. Van Rheede claimed that this was the case not only after he became Commandeur over Malabar, but from the earliest times of his association with Malabar as a Councillor of the Company. But all this proved fruitless, and those troubles and heart breakings a waste of energy. Many causes contributed to bring about such a state of matters. The people felt that, if the king's position was strengthened, they would have to be reduced to their former subordinate position, the reduced powers of the king would be restored, and the favours which had been heaped on the flatterers of the king might be taken from them. This would make the kingly power very strong. Hence, taking advantage of his known defects and senile mind, they tried all possible means of making the good counsel of the Company suspect with the king.[10]

Dutch Influence in Cochin Before the Conquest Even before the Dutch capture of Cochin Fort, King Veera Kerala Varma seems to have been on the Dutch side. In those troubled days he probably invested Dutch officers with authority in regions which really belonged to him but were then in opposition against his authority. Accordingly we find that provisional Captain, Hendrick Reyns, was appointed Ragiadoor Moor by the king. Along with the Palyatteer Ittekomeren, this Dutch officer was authorised to perform the duties of the office and to collect tributes and debts and to use force if necessary for this

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[10] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), chapter XX, page 21.

purpose. He was also empowered to realise on the goods of the dead, interests, tolls and pattams and the ordinary expenses. He was charged with the duty of giving to the King a proper account of all the moneys thus collected. Thus we find that, even before the Dutch had actually become possessed of any sort of influence in Malabar, a Dutch officer was entrusted by the King with important financial duties.[11]

Dutch Influence After the Conquest After the capture of Cochin on the 7th January 1663, Van Goens was busy with the establishment of proper order in Cochin and entering into a favourable agreement with the Moottatavazhi King, Veera Kerala Varma. On the 6th March 1663, Veera Kerala Varma was publicly crowned in the town of Cochin according to the old usages, but for the first time by the Dutch Company, and was accepted by all landlords as king. Thus the long domination of the Portuguese over the kingdom of Cochin came to an end, and the king was, according to his wish, restored in full honour and might. The Dutch took good precautions for the safeguarding of their position, and further promises of complete obedience were made by the Raja. Hustært, the Dutch Commander, agreed to keep 200 men besides the necessary garrison to support the King against his subjects as the position of the former was so uncertain.

Hustært's Agreement with the King Hustært concluded with the King a succinct agreement.[12] The King, realizing that the Governor was somewhat displeased with him, promised not to do anything in the least injurious to the

[11] Document No. 264 of the *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II: This is identical with document No. 427 of Vol. III (Stapel). There is thus some uncertainly as to where the document should come in; if its appearance in the earlier place is a mistake, the inference about Dutch influence in Cochin before the conquest would be wrong.

[12] Document No. 281 in Heeres Vol. II. Also Batavia Dag Register 1664, page 179 (from the Contract Book).

Company. The burgers, dwelling in the town of Cochin or appearing there from other places under the Company's rule, were required to pay no toll to the King when the merchandise they brought remained in the town or was exported by sea; but, if they took these goods landwards, then they were expected to pay the usual toll levied on the Company's goods and merchants. Similarly, they were expected to pay toll on goods they brought from inland with the exception of trifles and victuals necessary for the sustenance of the inhabitants. Specified rates were laid down for the tolls to be levied on different classes of people like Armenians, Moors, Jews, Paravas, native priests and Christians on the one hand, and Canarins and Brahmins on the other. The rates were to be identical with those prevalent in Portuguese times. On the goods they bought at Cochin, they were to pay duties amounting to half of the rates mentioned above, except that the Company was always to have the rates enjoyed by the Portuguese. In case the English and the Spaniards were allowed to trade there, they were to pay the customary duties which the Dutch Company was to enjoy these. On the pepper which the inland merchants came to deliver to the Company, they were to pay to the King 5 pardaos[13] or florins per candy. The King was to stand guarantee that all the pepper was to be delivered to the Company and that, if anything was left behind, none of these duties were to be paid to the King. There were clauses regulating the duties to be paid to the King by merchants who bought for the King and also protecting the position of the Christians. The most characteristic clause of the treaty was one which prohibited the export of pepper and wild cinnamon by any body except the Company and the import of opium by

[13] *Pardao* was the Portuguese name of the coin Pagoda, so called because it usually bore a pyrainidal temple on the reverse. Hunt, Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin (Kottayam C. M. S. Press, 1920), Vol. I, page 68. It was also called *Pratapa*.

any one except the ministers of the Company, it being understood that the trade in other commodities was free. These clauses conclusively indicate the subordination of Cochin to the Dutch Company.

Indications of Further Subordination During the tenure of the office of Commandeur of Malabar by Ysbrand Godsken the successor of Van Coulster, the subordination of the Raja of Cochin to the Company which had been taking place during the time of his predecessors further continued. Even the expenses of the Raja began to be controlled by the Dutch Commandeur as will be seen from the following ola given by the King to the Commandeur on the 18th May, 1666.[14]

> "I promise that when, besides my daily expenses, I need any sum of money, I shall, having first considered the matter with my council, send the above mentioned Ragiadoor besides Wittula Naick to the Lord Commandeur to understand his opinion of the matter, and shall entirely regulate my conduct according to his pleasure, and if it comes to pass that the two above mentioned persons spend without the knowledge of the Commandeur any money from the Capital in their custody, it shall not be considered valid expenditure by me, but shall be made chargeable to their account."

The financial dependence of the Raja on the Dutch Commandeur could go no further.

The Dutch Allowed to Regulate the Cochin Succession The Commandeur was also allowed a voice in the regulation of the Cochin succession. On the 23rd February, 1674, there appeared before the Lord Admiral and Superintendent, Rijcklof Van Goens, the second heir prince of the Cochin kingdom called Erorma besides the fourth prince Godorma

[14] Document No. 307. Heeres Vol. II. page 336.

and the young Palyatteer who together severally and particularly for themselves and for all their allies who should take their place promised to His Lordship and reciprocally pledged to each other that for all time no one shall be permitted to be adopted as heir to the Cochin Kingdom except from the five lawful dynasties of which only two were then in existence, namely the Moottatavazhi and Chazhiyur. The signatories promised help and protection against all enemies within and without and to remain faithful always. The conditions accepted by the Cochin princes in 1674 show unmistakably the tenacity of the grip which the Dutch were having on the Cochin Royal house as will be seen from the following translation:

"Conditions contemplated and solemnly concluded between the Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens in the name of the Hon'ble Company and Rama Varma, whereby the same was appointed by the King and his Council as also by the Commandeur and his Council third prince of the Cochin Kingdom to rule over the land as Governor in the name of the King.

1. The third prince of the Cochin Kingdom is required by this solemn contract that he shall endeavour to the utmost of his power to secure the welfare of the lands of Cochin and of the Dutch Company, declaring for enemies all who place themselves against the town of Cochin or the Hon'ble Company without any exception, whatever nation or person they may be.

2. On which solemn promise, the Hon'ble Company accepts him not only as third prince of the Kingdom of Cochin, but also as Governor of all the lands belonging to Cochin by virtue of the Commission granted to him by the King of Cochin to govern and rule in the best interests of the kingdom, but with the express stipulation that all

matters of importance shall be directed with the advice of the Commandeur in Cochin and his consent."

It was also stipulated that the fannams and other coins made by the King's mint should be made under the supervision of the Hon'ble Company and false coiners were to be punished according to the agreement. No Muhammadans whom the Company considered injurious to them were to be permitted to live in the lands of Cochin. The European priests who were not already banished were to be expelled as soon as possible. With regard to the internal government of Cochin, it was explicitly laid down that, on the command of the King, the advice of the old Palyatteer and the principal Ragiadoors should be taken in all matters of importance and the counsel of the said councillors accepted.

Complete Subjection How completely by September 1674 the Cochin Kingdom was under the influence of the Dutch Company is most clearly brought out in a treaty of 2–3 September 1674 which was nothing less than a regulation and order for the government of Cochin.[15] The document under reference may be rendered thus:

"The King of Cochin and the Commandeur and almost all southern and northern Ragiadoors and landlords being assembled together in the Pagoda of Pazhayannur, the following clauses were devised and confirmed for the welfare and lasting good of the government of the kingdom. When the Palyatteer, Telleschanoor, Manacotta and the valiant captain Borgart Uyter, representing the name of the Hon'ble Company, are assembled together to talk together of matters affecting them, this should take place in the presence of the King who should appoint the Ragiadoors beginning from Cochin and other places; the accounts

[15] Document No. 350 of Heeres, Vol. II.

should be written by clerks appointed for the purpose by the King. The King should receive for his maintenance 3000 fannams, the second prince 1500 fannams, the third 750, and the fourth 450. All four, the King and the three princes, shall, after this order, manage their moneys. The heirs or princes shall have no part of the gains of the moneys, rents, contributions, fines paid for inheritance, tolls and duties belonging to the King's court. No successors of the kingdom may be chosen without the knowledge and consent of the Hon'ble Company."

As for Perimbala, a selfish Konkani Brahmin merchant of whom more will be said later, it was stipulated that he should render accounts to the four councillors of the kingdom aforenamed for what he had received from them, also of the expenses incurred by him, that he should continue to live in the Cochin Kingdom free in the Canarins' Bazaar according to his position without meddling with any of the affairs of the government unless the same were permitted by an ola of the Hon'ble Company. The rents for tobacco and other things were not to be farmed by any others than the four above mentioned councillors in the presence of the King. The councillors should punish any one who deserved punishment so that the kingdom might be governed well and affairs conducted infallibly. Of these the Paliyatteer should be the chief governor who was to collect the remaining moneys from the lands of Paddrahoer and Maparehoer, and give it over to the Kariakkar. Expenses, beginning with that of the King's palace, were to be accounted for by the clerks appointed by the King; and, being brought to the four councillors and on being heard and seen by them, were to be promptly intimated to the King. In order that everything might be maintained in good order, the differences likely to arise between the four councillors were to be settled by the King and the Commandeur.

Nayar Influences Support the Dutch Side The Dutch continued to make further progress in regulating the affairs of the Malabar princes according to their pleasure. That the troublesome and dangerous element of the Nayars was wholly on the side of the Dutch was of great importance. On the 3rd December, 1664, the 30,000 Nayars of Courournaddu (Udiamperur), 7000 of Karapuram (Moutan), 300 of Bardella, 300 of Kaddamturuty, Maddaty Kaymel, 3000 of Baypin, and the Paliyatteer promised to Van Rheede.

"We bind ourselves for the welfare of the Kingdom of Cochin and the prosperity of each of us in general and of the inhabitants in particular to undergo good and evil together; we also bind ourselves that when the Hon'ble company seizes any enemies, we with the Company shall undergo good and evil together, for our strengthening and encouragement; in resisting those enemies as also those who might come against that kingdom . . . the Hon'ble Company promises to protect us and to support us in the manner above described. And if anybody in any way departs from what we with these have pledged ourselves, the others were to unite and put them to account; the Hon'ble Company shall punish them and readmit them."[16]

Unpopularity of the King Owing to his unregulated love and hate, the King was not strong enough to rule and maintain the land and the landlords not alone in their duties but also against the enemies of the Cochin King. There were reasons to fear that they would overthrow him again and place the kingdom under strange heads. If the inhabitants were unwilling to have him and hated him, the Company in spite of all serious measures could not maintain the balance nor be served for all their labour and trouble. Van Rheede feared that this would undoubtedly happen if

[16] Document No. 35 of Heeres, *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

the King pursued his own pleasure and followed the counsel of unprincipled advisers disdaining the advice of important landlords.[17] Though the King was very much under the bad influence of Perimbala, the heir apparent and nobles were always willing to co-operate with the Company for the welfare of the Kingdom. The Company was also determined to prevent all interference by outsiders in the affairs of Cochin. For the Company, it was the easiest thing to abjure the protection of Cochin and stand alone. But such an action would result in confusion in the whole of Malabar. For when once the strong hand of the Company was withdrawn from Cochin, the King would immediately lose wholly the respect of the other Rajas who now associated the Company with the Cochin Raja and hence held him in awe. If Dutch help was withdrawn, Cochin would be torn and broken into many pieces, and finally the way would be opened for the Zamorin to pour his mighty forces into the Cochin Kingdom and overpower it with plunder and murder, and the Company would be shut up in the walls of their fortresses.

King's Complaints Against the Dutch Company The King of Cochin, towards the close of our period, began to feel that he was not receiving sufficient support from the Company against his enemies and that the successor of Van Rheede was not showing him adequate consideration. In the *Batavia Dag Register* for 1678 (30th May) occurs the following letter of the King of Cochin to the Governor General at Batavia:

"In June 1677 I went to war with the Zamorin for a place named *Maprana*[18] and have taken the same not with

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[17] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XXIII, page 23.

[18] The estate of Maprana was situated south of the Ennemakal lake in the northern part of the Kingdom of Cochin. One Belosta Nambiyar who was subject to the Zamorin was its chief. (Moens in Dutch Records No. 2, page 27.)

the help of the Hon'ble Company; but I alone with all my people have carried on this war, and now the Commandeur Jacob Lobs, Babba and Poelicarre have delivered the said place to the third prince of the Zamorin without my (though king) having the least knowledge of it—a thing which has never happened in Cochin before."

On various grounds, the relations between the King of Cochin and the Commandeur of Cochin were deteriorating as may be seen from a perusal of the letters of the king extracted in the *Batavia Dag Register*, and the king was asking for the removal from office of Jacob Lobs, the Commandeur.

The Commandeur's Version Jacob Lobs gave his own version of "the quarrels and discords among the Malabar Rajas, particularly between the King of Cochin and the Zamorin."[19] He also mentioned that the departure of a certain Bishop named Thomas a Castro from the Company's dominions had to be ordered so that a situation which was already bad should not be made worse in the then weak state of the Company's power on the Malabar coast with numerous troubles and disturbances of Malabaree princes and nobles.

Increasing Discontent of the King The increasing discontent of the King of Cochin is well brought out in two letters of the King dated the 3rd and 5th January 1678. In the first letter, the King first assured the Governor General of his loyalty.

"I have received the letter which Your Excellency has sent and understand therefrom its contents. The confidence of friendship which I have with the Company shall not be broken. I have received the present which you have

[19] Batavia Dag Register, 1678, entry for 4th March.

been pleased to send from there, and am therefore very glad and prepared to give satisfaction to the document which was made in the Company's garden at the time of the previous Commandeur."

Then the King complains that he was being unduly mulcted of his income.

"Concerning the money, none of the Commandeurs has better notion than the previous Commandeur. This has come into your ears through him. Of all that has been done before (by order of the Company) for the welfare of us and our kingdom, no man has done better than the Commandeur Van Rheede. Of all this, the Lord Admiral knows very well and has also decreed so. They are now both there. When the Admiral came here, we made a document. They are disturbed because I have not signed it. After this happened, the Commandeur was displeased which is my misfortune. Henceforth, I shall do nothing without communication of the present Commandeur who, by order of the Company, is here. Please order that my orders be kept according to the laws and style of the kingdom."

The King Deplores Dutch Friendliness to the Zamorin The King was distressed at the friendliness shown to the Zamorin.

"So far as we are friendly with the Zamorin, it shall after this be to the destruction of our kingdom. Our friends shall not remain united with us. Why? Because the like has not happened in the time of my uncle's possession. Now the Company does nothing to the welfare of this my line. The enemies conquered the lands. Be pleased to see that whether it be by agreement or by war, I may have the possession as my uncle had it before."

The Financial Position The financial position was thus depicted by the king:

"For my ordinary expenses is the money of the tolls and so has the Lord Admiral decreed by documents; Because the Hon'ble Company has selected some pennies, I do not enjoy it and it is deducted from the amount I am bound to pay. The rest for which I remain indebted, reckon that at half the toll, and I request that Your Lordship be pleased to order that half the portion of the income be handed to me. Be pleased to order the whole for our welfare in a short time, for I have need of it."

Grave Accusation against the Commandeur In another letter to Joan Maatsuyker, the Governor-General, the King brings grave accusations against the Commandeur Jacob Lobs:

"This is my third letter without having received a reply. I do not know for what reason men who used to support my predecessor forget me. Their support comforted me and my people. Therefore is all expectation of that good answered. For without that support my affairs shall not succeed. The letter of reply sent to me speaks wholly nothing of my affairs, it being my desire that I be favoured with the disposal of the papers concerning me, for, without my people I am of little value, and my attempt is that they all may be to my comfort, for it is with them and the Hon'ble Company that I dwell in this my castle of Cochin. I have written to Your Excellency of the affairs of Cochin, and the answer received comprehends only particular affairs."

The King then complains that the Commandeur Jacob Lobs was dealing with Babba and Poelicarre of Calicoilan without consulting him or esteeming him as a King. The result was that all the neighbouring kings had become his enemies as well as that of the Company. The King feels that the Commandeur and his advisers will do nothing to the good of the Company. The King also complained tha

Babba Patara and Poelicarre Nayak and the Paliyatteer had sent in his name olas to the Company. For these reasons he requested that a man who has knowledge of this land may be sent here, "that I may not perish, and the Company with me and that I may be favoured with answers, for no Commandeur has done as this one does. I have my trust on the Company and the Zamorin on the French. The Third Prince of the Zamorin keeps with others within Cochin not for the good of the Hon'ble Company but to do evil to the loss of this kingdom of Cochin. Now everything depends on the pleasure of Your Excellency.

Cochin 5th January 1678, Your Excellency's friend and brother: V.V." (The sign of the King Birola, Veera Kerala Varma of Cochin).

The King's letter to Van Goens Much the same ground is covered in a letter of the King to Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens dated 4th January, 1678.

Settlement of 1678 The Batavia Government sent Marten Huysman as Commissaris to settle the dispute. But before his arrival, Lobs had, on the 21st May, 1678, entered into an agreement with the King whereby it was hoped that fresh difficulties could be prevented in the future.

In this agreement it was stipulated that "the King of Cochin should exercise his kingly authority over the whole kingdom without anyone, whoever he be, offering any obstruction.

"The princes from the first to the last were not to interfere in the least in the affairs of the kingdom or the king, but to keep quiet so long as they were not requested by the King to act; much less was any prince to make any attempt against the King or his commands. If this happened, it was to be rigorously punished.

"To keep the King at rest and to prevent all plots against him, the princes were not to speak to the Commandeur in Cochin without the King's previous knowledge and consent.

"The Paliyatteer was in the King's name to look after all the affairs of the kingdom, doing what he thought the welfare of the kingdom and the dignity of the King required. He was to speak to and hold consultations with the King on all events relating to the kingdom, but he was not to decide, much less to act, without the knowledge and consent of the King. But if the Paliyatteer forgot his duty and acted differently, then the King, with the knowledge and consent of the Commandeur, was to appoint a smart and vigilant lord in his place.

The King was not to give to any one blank olas signed by himself so that the honour of the King might not in this manner be imperilled, and things might not be done which His Highness would afterwards disapprove.

"Better attention shall be paid to the King's income and the farmers of the King's dues shall be examined about their dues; if they would not pay more, their position shall be given to others.

"The stewards of the King shall give account of what they have received, and a prince living in most friendship with the King and the Paliyatteer shall have authority over the same.

"All deeds of molestation, violence and wantonness committed by the Nayars shall be most rigorously punished by the King without distinction of persons.

"Lastly, the King shall give satisfaction to the Commandeur in the name of the Hon'ble Company in all matters pertaining to subjects and Christians, and the Company shall

permit the Commandeur to take satisfaction if the King does not take action. Similarly, the Commandeur undertakes that, if the Christians do any molestation or oppression to the King, the offenders shall be properly punished.

"Just as the above matters are to be complied with, so the Commandeur in the name of the Hon'ble Company requires the King to comply with the same with a strong hand that the good may be rewarded and the wicked punished.

"And that this agreement might tend to greater security in the Kingdom of Cochin, there shall be and remain a perpetual friendship between the King, his princes and the Paliyatteer with forgetfulness of what might have happened before."

Comment on the Above In this contract concluded between the Company and the King, the latter had received assurances of freedom from interference in the affairs of the kingdom by the two princes and the Paliyatteer. And the articles contained a clause that, if the Paliyatteer forgot his duty, the King could with the consent of the Commandeur appoint another competent, smart and vigilant person instead. It did not go so far as that, but the King did not wholly trust the financial management of the Paliyatteer and, with the consent of the new Commandeur Marten Huysman and the Commissaris Gelmer Vosburg, the Prince appointed, next to the Paliyatteer, one of the Dutch officers, the Commandeur of the garrison, Hendrik Reyns as controller.[18]

It will thus be seen that the grip of the Dutch Company over the Cochin Kingdom was complete and the King of Cochin was reduced to a cypher politically.

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[18] Document No. 427 in *Corpus Diplomaticum,* Vol. III (Stapel), page 427. See Foot-note 8 above.

APPENDIX

English transcript of the Malayalam letter of the Raja of Cochin in Tippu's time to the Governor-General at Batavia, the text of which has been rendered into English in para I of Chapter IX (pages 114-215) *supra.*

Pĕrūmpatăppĭl Swărōōpăttĭnkălĕ Văstūtă ōkkĕyūm Văḷărĕ Kēērthĭ pĕttă Ēstătintĕyūm Prĭnsĭpĭdĕ ōrănjă Năssăvōō ĕjămănmărĭtĕ kălpănăy-kūm Vănnĭrĭkūnnă Cūmmūssărĭs Ĕjămănănmărĕ Bhôdhikkântăttĭnăyĭttū ĕzhūttĭyă ărĭvū ăkūnnăttū.

Nămmūtĕ Pōōrvănmărūtĕ kălăttū Părăngĭkăḷ Kōchĭkôttăyĭl văzhun-nă năḷil Părăngĭkăḷ nămmūtĕ shătrūkkăḷūmăyĭ chârnnū nămmôttu vĭpăreetăm thūdăngūkă kŏndū ârĭyă ănărthăngălūm châttăngălūm pŏrăykă kălūm nămmūtĕ swărōōpătĭngălâkū vănnăttĭntĕ sâshăm nămūdĕ kărnŏn-mărū bhăhūmănăppĕttă ūlăndhă kūmpănjĭkkū năllă nârūm măryădhăyūm bhălăvūm ūndăyĭrĭkkūnnă prăkărăm grăhĭtchū nămmūdĕ pōōrvănmărū bhăhūmănăpĕttă kūmpănjĭyĕ chĕnnū kăndū mâlĭl kūmpănjĭ nămmūdĕ swărōōpăttūngălâkkū bhăndhūvăyĭ ĭrĭkkăttăkkăvannūm nĭschăyĭchū ănny-ŏnnyăm vĭswăsĭchăttĭntĕ sâshăm kūmpănjĭyūtĕ bhălăm kōōttĭ ăyăchū părăngĭkăl ĭrūnnĭrĭnnă kôttăkăl ŏkkĕyūm kūmpănjĭyutĕ vĭdhăyăttĭl ăkkĭ nămmūtĕ shăttrūkălūtĕ ămărchayūm vărūttĭ răjyăm nămūkkū swădhēēnă-măyĭ tănnĭrĭkūnnū.

CHAPTER X

DUTCH INFLUENCE IN THE KINGDOMS SUBORDINATE TO COCHIN AND IN TĔKKĔNKŪR

A. THE COCHIN SUB-KINGDOMS

1. Porca (Pūräkkäd) The Dutch had first appeared at this place in 1642 and made a treaty as already described.[1] The territory of the Raja of Purakkad was very small and extended along the coast for not above five Dutch miles and nowhere had a depth exceeding two miles;[2] but it was very fruitful and moreover afforded an outlet for the pepper growing country behind.[3] The Dutch claimed that Purakkad was within ten English miles off Cochin and therefore within sight of their fleet. As a matter of fact, the distance was more than forty miles. The Raja had helped the Portuguese in the defence of Cochin and thus gave the Dutch a good excuse for hostilities. He could hardly be blamed if he made his peace at the price of the exclusion of other Europeans including the English when he was thoroughly beaten by the Dutch after an attack. The Raja admitted in writing to the Admiral Van Goens in January 1663 that the harbours of the King had been captured by the Company and had become the possession of the Company.[4]

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[1] See Chapter V *supra*, pages 56, 57 and 61.

[2] *Batavia Dag Register* for 1663, page 326. One Dutch mile was equal to four English miles.

[3] Foster: English Factories 1661–64, page 229.

[4] Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, page 225.

Dutch Treaty with the Raja of Purakkad On the 14th March, 1663 the following treaty was concluded between the Dutch East India Company, the King of Cochin and the Raja of Purakkad[5] (for Malayalam version, see Appendix).

1. "Between both parties there shall be a perpetual peace, amnesty and forgetfulness of what has happened before, and consequently, henceforward, an eternal love and affectionateness to each other so long as the sun and moon shall appear."

2. "The Raja of Purakkad declares himself an enemy of all who should in any way injure the Kingdom of Cochin, whether they be the Portuguese, other potentates or proprietors, etc.

3. "Consequently, the Raja of Purakkad promises not only to make Godavarma evacuate his land, but also to keep him outside the same in the future.

4. "The Raja promises to show to the Hon'ble Company the loyalty which he has always shown to the Portuguese.

5. "The Raja further promises that he shall never cause cinnamon to be weighed in or exported from his land except with the consent of the King of Cochin and the Hon'ble Company who shall reckon only the legal duties thereon.

6. "The Hon'ble Company shall be permitted to build, in the land of the King of Purakkad, a stone ware-house for the security of their goods and the maintenance of their claims.

7. "The Raja of Purakkad promised in future not to import into or export from his land any elephant.

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[5] Document No. 272, *Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum,* Vol. II, page 240.

8. "The Raja of Purakkad promises to return to the Hon'ble Company all the frigates of the Portuguese which are still in his land on the condition that the Hon'ble Company shall pay all the expenses incurred thereon.

9. "And as a proof of the established friendship, the Raja of Purakkad shall raze to the ground 200 cubits of the wall lying against the land of Cochin, leaving the remaining portion to the pleasure of the Hon'ble Company and the King of Cochin without ever repairing the same.

10. "The Company promises reciprocally to give all help against their friends to the extent their power and fairness shall bear.

11. "Generally, the parties agreed that the Company shall enjoy all the privileges the Portuguese had.

12. "This was to be written six times and signed by each party, three times on paper in Dutch and three times on silver olas in Malayalam, and each party shall keep two copies, one in Dutch and one in Malayalam." (For Malayalam version, see Appendix to this chapter.)

The English at Purakkad An English factory was already in existence at Purakkad. The arrival of the Dutch meant the ruin of the English enterprise. When Cornellis Valkenburg, the Dutch Chief Factor in Cochin, came to Purakkad in a vessel to take a consignment of pepper, the English factors sent a protest which he ignored. Shortly after, some more Dutch ships arrived and their Commander interviewed the King and offered to give two reals of eight per candy of pepper above the current price. So the ruin of the English was inevitable.

Though legal rights were on the side of the English who were earlier settlers, the King of Purakkad was unable to protect them because of the military strength of the

Dutch. The English factors who had planned to exclude the Dutch from trade were chagrined to find the tables turned upon them. Hopeless as the position was as regards future trade, the English factors, Harrington and Grigsby, adopted an attitude of passive resistance and refused to leave until ordered to do so by their superiors at Surat.[6] An English ship which arrived at Purakkad was not allowed to take pepper.[7] Harrington was sent to Surat by the Dutch in November 1664. On the outbreak of the war between the Dutch and the English in 1665, the Dutch seized the English factory at Purakkad (in July 1665) and carried off Alexander Grigsby, the only Englishman there, as a prisoner of war. There remained no spot along the whole Malabar coast where the English could still carry on trade and the monopoly which the Dutch had so long been aiming at seemed at last within their grasp.[8]

Dutch Business at Purakkad The Dutch found little demand for their spices at Purakkad; but opium, copper, lead, tin, cotton, sandalwood, iron, etc. were readily sold.[9] They brought a sort of opium from Bengal called *Pachavette*,[10] each candy of which was worth 58 and 60 candies of pepper. the English Surat pepper obtaining only 48 candies of pepper in exchange. On November 13, 1664, the Dutch Company entered into an agreement with the merchants of Cochin, Calicoilan and Porca by which they contracted to deliver to the Company in the year 1665 a quantity of 780 1/4 lasts of pepper of 2400 lbs. each besides 250 lasts expected to be procured from Coilan. The merchants undertook

6 Foster: English Factories, 1661-64, page 250.

7 *Batavia Dag Register*, 1664 (12th May), page 171.

8 Letter from Garry at Bombay to King Charles dated 22nd March, 1668 in Foster: English Factories, 1665-69.

9 Foster: English Factories, 1661-64, page 355.

10 *Pachavette* was probably the *passewa* of Wilson's Glossary where it is described as a semi-fluid sediment obtained from the capsules of the poppy after the seeds are extracted; it hardens by exposure. Foster: English Factories, 1661-64, page 355.

to pay a fine of 100,000 fannams if convicted of selling pepper to other traders European or Indian.[11]

Friendliness of the Raja to the Dutch The Batavia Dag Register for 1665[12] contains the statement that the King of Purakkad definitely promised to cut off all the trade of the English, threatening even to kill them if they proved recalcitrant. Van Goens found the Purakkad Raja the most generous of all Malabar princes in the matter of assistance to the Company in the war against the Raja of Carimbaly.[13] On the 8th February 1665, the Ragiadoor of the King of Purakkad in a written document promised in the name of the King to support the Company with his Nayars and further contingents in the efforts to take full vengeance on all who had acted against the Company.

The Batavia Government on Dutch Action About the English The English, however, thought that the King's heart was still good, but he dared not help the English. The Supreme Government at Batavia approved the action of Van Goens regarding the English at Purakkad[14], and also suggested that they should keep alive the feud between Vatakkumkur and Purakkad. However crushing the reverses of the English in this region might be, they still hoped that they could regain lost ground. Grigsby despatched his former interpreter to Purakkad, and the latter brought an answer from the King that he would willingly receive back the English provided they came with sufficient force to protect both him and themselves against the Dutch.[15] For the time being, he was completely in the power of the Dutch. Thus at best it was not a willing submission.

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[11] Dutch treaties in Mackenzie *MSS.* page 339.

[12] *Batavia Dag Register* for 1665, (22nd June) page 145.

[13] *Batavia Dag Register* for 1665, page 147.

[14] *Batavia Dag Register* for 1665, page 237.

[15] English letter from Calicut to Surat dated 18th August, 1668 extracted in Foster: English Factories, 1665-69.

Van Rheede on Purakkad We shall close our remarks on Dutch relations with Purakkad by extracting the following remarks of Van Rheede.[16]

" Purakkad which had been subdued by force and by bad luck regarded as a subject of the Cochin Raja had, by the treaty imposed on him by force of arms, no power of trade in his land except by permission which for many good reasons is accorded to him. This prince, being a Brahmin, has his lands well and wisely governed, and never neglects to take care of his advantages. He is a difficult person to be dealt with if he is to be compelled in any matter, as the prohibition of the transport of arecanut has shown. Pressure has to be exerted on him through his neighbours, Calicoilan and Tekkenkur. He is also thus kept as a check on Calicoilan. But the greatest compulsion on him was to set a log house on the thieves' island and thus prevent approach to his most important fortress of Codamallur situated on the other side of the lake. To ensure this, the Raja of Tekkenkur was always favourably inclined to the Dutch claim for the place in order to secure the carrying out of the Company's aims. With great cunning, the Raja tries to spoil the trade of the lands of Moutan subject to Cochin. He finds it in his interest to be the enemy of the Raja of Cochin; otherwise he has most to fear. To keep him small and pliable and yet prevent him being oppressed by Calicoilan, Tekkenkur and Cochin, has always been my policy. This is easy to do. But he can, as a firebrand, he easily moved to and drawn into an alliance with the Rajas who were disaffected over the prohibition of arecaunt. On this subject I carried on some negotiations. But time alone could show whether the new Raja had the wisdom and maturity of his deceased predecessor. That nation could not likely forget that they

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16 Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XIX, page 20.

stood previously as heirs standing on the watch to make themselves masters and owners of the kingdom of Parur from which they had been expelled by the Hon'ble Company and the Raja of Cochin."

2. **Vatakkumkur** Vatakkumkur was particularly allied to Cochin and had a large number of galleys on the lake.. He was a good friend of the Dutch Company although, according to Van Rheede, no written agreement was made with him. The English factors at Purakkad wrote in August 1664 that, though the Dutch had been tampering with him, they met with a positive refusal. The English feared that, if the Dutch succeeded here, there would be no part of the coast of Malabar open for English trade though they stayed there till Doomsday because of the great power of the Dutch, the imbecility of the English displayed in their willingness to put up with affronts, the natural timidity of the natives and the fear of displeasing the Dutch who were visible conquerors and lords on that coast. An able king had died when Van Rheede wrote, and the latter was fearful of the future. It was part of Dutch policy to co-operate with Cochin and Tekkenkur to keep Vatakkumkur at peace. At the same time, they were anxious to see that he was oppressed by no one as, with Purakkad, Vatakkumkur was the key of the lands of Cochin against all the southern kingdoms.

Treaty with Vatakkumkur The statement of Van Rheede that there were no written engagements between the Dutch Company and Vatakkumkur[17] is, however, difficult to reconcile with the following entry in Dutch records.[18]

"1665 March 12. Treaty with the Raja of Berkencore (Vatakkumkur) stipulating that His Highness shall never

[17] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), chapter XIX, page 21.
[18] Dutch treaties in Mackenzie *MSS* page 348 and Document No. 299 of Heeres.

cease to be a faithful ally of the Company and the Raja of Cocheen; that the pepper and cinnamon, the produce of the Raja's state, will be sold exclusively to the Dutch on paying the established Duties; that these articles and opium will constitute the company's monopoly; that the Raja will assist the Company's servants in the collection of outstanding debts; that the duties and taxes will not be increased; that commodious store houses will be provided for the Company's goods; and that no Roman Catholic priest will be allowed to reside in the kingdom except those who belonged to the Diocese of St. Thomas."

3. **Parur** [19] Parur was one of the pillars of the Cochin kingdom but with a separate Raja of Brahmin lineage. He was forcibly restored by the Company to his kingdom whence he had been expelled as a result of the inland troubles and inland wars of Cochin especially through the cunning of the Ruler of Purakkad. The following treaty was concluded before his departure from Malabar by Van Goens with the King of Parur on the 1st March 1663.

"Translation of the ola of friendship and alliance between the rulers of Parur and the Hon'ble Company.[20] The four Ragiadoors of Parur appointed at present with general approval, namely two by the Queen and two by the King, shall learn and have brought to their knowledge all that takes place or is done in the five provinces of Parur and intimate the same to the Raja and the Rani so that such orders may be given about affairs as with the approval of both are considered necessary, and these the Ragiadoors were to carry out properly; those Ragiadoors who violate such commands were to be properly punished. The Raja, the Rani and the prince were to remain in authority and

[19] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XXIII, page 23.

[20] *Batavia Dag Register* 1663-page 188 ff. and document No. 271 in *Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, page 239.

dignity according to the old usage. This was done and concluded in the presence of the Raja of Cranganore, and the young Paliyatteer appointed as witnesses by the order of the Cochin King Moottatavazhi."

Sufferings of Parur in Dutch Times This kingdom of Parur suffered much even in the Company's time. Finally, the Queen allowed her daughter to wed a man who was not unfriendly to the interests of the Hon'ble Company and Cochin. Otherwise, it was to be feared that he would ally himself to the Zamorin because the latter was not only invited but had already some strongholds given to him. There was a division in the kingdom, the old Queen, her daughter and son-in-law being on one side, and the Raja on the other side. This disunion was the remedy by which the King could, if necessary, be always kept under control. But if they were united, Cochin and Mangatty (Alangad) were always avilable for controlling Parur, the former by force and the other through an irreconcilable grudge. People of Mangatty had in war killed a Parur prince which these people could never forget since the Nayars were pledged never to leave unavenged the death of their lord or king. Otherwise, in the province of Parur, they were living in peace and friendship with the Dutch Company. Parur was a kingdom which the Company could not allow to be oppressed by any one.

4. **Mangatty**[21] The fourth ally of Cochin was also on that ground attached in friendship with the Company. Though Mangatty (Alangad) was a subaltern of Cochin and one of its pillars, it was the policy of the Company to keep each kingdom separate and under its own hereditary ruling house. In the Dag Register of 1663, there is an entry that the Gricol of Calicoilan and the fourth prince of the

[21] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XXIII, page 24.

Zamorin's family brought before the Admiral a governor of the kingdom of Mangatty who came to offer himself as a friend in the service of the Company, and thus according to the usual practice he was received with marks of affection.[22] Though it was not a written agreement, the alliance was not less effective than that with the others. The ruling family consisted of two houses, the *Belleltavili*, the white branch, and *Caratatavali*, the dark branch. Together it was called *Mangattinadu.* Besides Cochin, Parur and the Paliyatteer are the factors which the Dutch could use against Mangatti.

5. **Repolim** Even before Cochin was conquered, there was an undertaking given by the ruler of Repolim (Idappalli) to be on friendly terms with the Dutch as could be seen from an undated document called the ola of satisfaction which the King of Repolim gave because of the murder of a Topass perpetrated in his kingdom.[23]

" As reparation for the same, he gave to the Company one of his Nayars with the arms of the dead Topass. He also agreed not to permit his vassals to give the pepper grown in his land to any other nation but only to the Dutch Company. If it happened that any of his vassals sold any pepper to any others, he should be given such high punishment as would satisfy the Dutch Company and the Cochin Raja. The pepper coming in small manchees (boats) from the south side and from the east coast to Repolim should not be detained by the servants of the Company. If the smuggled pepper seized in his kingdom was not surrendered, the king on being informed of it should send his men and have the pepper delivered to the

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[22] *Batavia Dag Register,* 1663, page 188. Also Document No. 267 in *Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum,* Vol. II, page 233. The date is not certain, says Heeres, but in the contract book it is placed between 8th January and 15th January 1663.

[23] Document No. 265 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum,* Vol. II, Page 229. Also *Batavia Dag Register,* 1663, page 188.

Company. When any pepper was being smuggled from Manhama, previous information was to be given to the king without the knowledge of the smugglers so that the pepper might be taken as price. Similarly on pepper being seized elsewhere, the king should send his men and have it given to the Company. The Company shall send their merchants to his kingdom for buying the above mentioned pepper at the price for which it is bought in other lands."

Thus we see that the treaty with Repolim conformed to the usual practice followed by the Dutch in Malabar.

B. TEKKENKUR

Notwithstanding the series of treaties made in 1663 with the princes on the coast of Malabar, much progress was not made in the fulfilment of the promises made. One of the causes for this failure, according to the governor Hustaert, was that the treaty made with the King of Cochin was no assurance that the same would be observed by the princes subordinate to him. Against this was conceived the remedy that separate treaties concerning the trade in opium, pepper and wild cinnamon should be entered into with the princes who had not already made agreements. Hendrik Van Rheede was entrusted with the negotiations with Tekkenkur and Vatakkumkur. He reported that no progress could be made with the ruler of Tekkenkur and that, none the less, his friendship was necessary. He was afraid that the opium monopoly could not be enforced. But on the 19th April, 1664, Hustaert wrote to Batavia that the pepper monopoly was granted to the Dutch by Tekkenkur. [24]

Tekkenkur Described Tekkenkur was a large district on the east of the Vembanad lake. Kottayam was later the

[24] Introduction to Document No. 289 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

capital. It was situated between Travancore and Cochin, but did not belong to either. It was more beautiful than any other kingdom in Malabar. Large quantities of pepper grew in this kingdom.

English Version of Dutch Affairs in Tekkenkur The Dutch Company had to make several fruitless efforts to make the ruler of Tekkenkur come to terms. Though earlier efforts failed, eventually he succumbed to the blandishments of the Dutch. The following is the English version of the matter :

"The king of Tecancour who is a prince in whose country great quantity of pepper groweth and whom divers times before they had treated with but could not be brought to comply; yet upon this new approach held no longer out but after 15000 Xerafins[25a] shot into his purse, rendered himself and the commodities of his country into the power of their discretion who immediately settled a factory in a principal place of his country, though with great grumbling and repugnance of the natives, who could hardly be brought to consent at first, yet the power of their king and the hopes of future gaine made that easy which at first seemed nauseous to their avaritious desires."[25b]

Treaty with Tekkenkur It was Ludolf Van Coulster who was charged with the mission of concluding the treaty with Tekkenkur.[26] This was carried out in June. On October 1, the treaty was signed in the presence of the King of Tekkenkur.[27]

[25a] Seraffin or Seraphin (Xeraffin) was a silver coin formerly current in India worth about 1sh. 5d. (*vide* James A. M. Murray's 'A new English Dictionary on Historical Principles.')

[25b] Letter from Grigsby and Harrington, English merchants at Purakkad, to Surat dated 14th August 1664, quoted in Foster's English Factories, page 354 of the 1661-64 volume.

[26] Heeres: See foot-note No. 24.

[27] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1664, pages 177, 188, 411 and 432; also document No. 289 in Heeres.

The following is the translation of the first treaty between the Dutch and Tekkenkur:

"Perpetual covenant of peace and friendship entered into and concluded between the Raja of Tekkenkur, ally of the king of Cochin, on the one side and, on behalf of the Chartered United Dutch East India Company, with the Commandeur Ludolph Van Coulster by command of the Lord Jacob Hustaert, Councillor of India, Admiral, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon and the coast of Malabar on the other side.

"Firstly there shall be between the Hon'ble Company and the Raja of Tekkenkur a perpetual peace, alliance and friendship, sincere love and perfect trust so long as the sun and the moon shall endure.

"The Raja of Tekkenkur promises to the Hon'ble Company as the Hon'ble Company similarly promises to the said Raja to be the enemy of those who might declare or show themselves to be the enemy of the other side. In like manner, the said Raja promises for all time to be the friend of the king and the kingdom of Cochin, and against that to be the enemy of Godavarma and those of Bettatte or Tanoor so long as they persist in their wicked and wrong purpose. Also the said Raja promises that to the Hon'ble Company alone, and to no other nation in the world besides, shall the pepper produced in his land be allowed to be sold and carried, without such facilities being allowed to any one else except from his upland bazaars of Kanjirapally, Arattupuzha, Eremelur and Ranni for such quantities as are required in exchange for foodstuffs.

"Against this, the Hon'ble Company again pledge themselves and promise to buy receive and pay at such prices, and with such merchandise and cash, silver or gold as the bazaar at each time requires, all the pepper produced, brought or auctioned in his kingdom, also other wares and

merchandise which now or hereafter they may find necessary, and that they shall come to terms with the usual merchants provided that everywhere, with the delivery, a writer of the king shall be present to demand of his subjects the customary customs or toll of three fannams raja[28] from each in cash.

"That at no time shall any cinnamon produced in the said Raja's lands be pealed or exported than at the desire of the Hon'ble Company.

"No opium shall be imported by land or water and sold except by the Hon'ble Company or their ministers only, provided they were bound to furnish them in all the provinces of the said Raja to the satisfaction of and at the prices marked by the latter.

"The aforementioned Raja takes under his care and protection such persons, goods and merchandise as the Hon'ble Company shall find it advisable to send for the carrying on of their trade, and promises to take care that the Hon'ble company at all times shall be paid promptly by their debtors, provided the Company's Residents shall not be bound to stand guarantee farther than to sound whether they were declared or judged as known before to the King's people.

"The above said Raja permits the Company to buy and assemble in such portion of his territories and dominion as the Hon'ble Company or their ambassadors are advised as most convenient, the pepper, other merchandise and wood.

"The merchants, inhabitants, and subjects of the said Raja shall be burdened with no heavier tolls or duties than has been usual from old to be levied here on the pepper; the Company being free furthermore to carry,

[28] A raja fannam was equivalent to $\frac{64}{125}$ (·512) rupee. Galletti, page 73, foot-note.

without any further burden or toll, the same pepper or other wares and merchandise whether by land or water as most convenient to them. Also the above mentioned Raja of Tekkenkur shall furnish to the Company, for those who appear here in their name as merchants, proper lodging and dwelling for their personal accommodation and safe custody of their goods brought or bought by them until they shall have opportunities to buy or prepare their own warehouse.

"The above mentioned Raja also promises not to permit shelter in his dominion or give passage to any Roman priest or their retinue except only those who are obedient to the Bishop of the St. Thomas Christians of the mountains (Malankara) whom the Company also promises in all respects to befriend and favour on the request of the King of Tekkenkur.

"If, from the Hon'ble Company or their subjects, any slaves or serfs happened to escape and are detained in the Raja's respective provinces, they shall be secured and restored, provided the owner shall, according to old usage, pay for the upkeep and receive acknowledgment.

"Such restoration and prompt delivery back shall be applied also to all black fugitives, whether soldiers or others, also black and such other persons more who are bound to the service of the Company.

And if it happened that any one of the subjects of either side is involved in any quarrels or violent deeds with the others, each shall be punished according to the laws and customs of each one's land, but murder shall be punished with the death of the guilty party, whatever be his quality, without any grace.

"And thus promise both sides to keep, faithfully and inviolate, the above contract and to punish, each his subjects,

those who shall violate or go against the same without respect of persons.

"And if it comes to pass that against this concluded treaty any person smuggles any pepper, cinnamon or opium, exporting or importing them, such shall be pursued and overtaken and the goods seized and confiscated, one half for the benefit of the Raja and the other half for that of the Hon'ble Company.

"Two copies of this contract were written in Dutch and two in Malayalam, and one copy of each given to each party for being kept.

"Thus executed and concluded and signed by both parties, at the headquarters and palace of the above mentioned Raja at Kottayam, the 16th June A.D. 1664 and the eighth day in the eleventh month of the Malabar Year 839.

"At the earnest entreaty of the Raja of Tekkenkur, it was agreed that, in the case of war with one of the partisans of one side by the other side, the former shall be assisted by his ally according to his power unless it is against a pledged ally of the other side. In this case he shall try to bring them again to friendship and reason. This was signed with the ordinary signature of the King of Tekkenkur and Ludolph van Coulster together with, on both sides, the seal mark in red lac of the Company as well as of the King.

The Second Treaty Ten years later, we find that the unrest on the Malabar Coast manifested itself in the small state of Tekkenkur which became the scene of brigandage. To cope with this situation, the King was made to place himself again under the protection both of Cochin and of the Hon'ble Company. Accordingly, the following treaty of further alliance and friendship was concluded on the 16th August 1674 between the King of Tekkenkur on the

one side and the Dutch Company, represented by the commandeur Hendrik Van Rheede of Drakensteyn together with the Captain Burghart Uytter, on the other side.[29]

"It renewed the treaty of peace and friendship made before between the Hon'ble Company and the King.

"Because the above mentioned treaty of friendship was broken as brigands have committed robberies in the Kingdom of Cochin and they now stay in the temple of Kumaranallur in the land of Tekkenkur, the king of Tekkenkur is pledged to settle and wipe off those differences, and in case the robbers are encountered in his lands or temples, the King binds himself, if it is possible, to catch them and hand them over to the Company alive or to kill them; if, when any of these people might detain the robbers to punish them, any of the other kings and princes come to hinder that, then the Kings of Tekkenkur and Cochin and the Hon'ble Company together were to go to war against those kings and princes.

"If when, in the Pagodas and limits or free principalities outside the kingdom of Tekkenkur where he has authority (besides other kings), any robbers might be staying or are retained, and if the Hon'ble Company or the King of Cochin wishes to drive them away, the King of Tekkenkur shall not interfere but shall remain neutral.

"This treaty was signed as usual in four copies—two in Dutch and two in Malayalam in the Tekkenkur palace at Olesha on the 3rd Chingom 850 (14th August, 1674).

Attitude of the Raja On the whole Tekkenkur is described[30] as friendly to the Dutch Company. He was a

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29 Document No. 349 in Heeres, *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

30 Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XIX, page 20.

powerful lord both on land and water, and possessed several vessels and galleys. He could be easily persuaded to molest Porca, Calicoilan and Vatakkumkur if the Dutch Commandeur had not protected them. But, at the same time, it was not made apparent that the Company would not allow them to be embarrassed. To compel these three Rajas to be subservient to Dutch interests, Van Rheede kept ready two or three log houses like those previously used against the Zamorin. Their lands being situated around the lake, Van Rheede thought it advantageous to make a tenement on the island in the midst of it as in the island Vreeland about Calicoilan.

APPENDIX

An unpublished Dutch record in Malayalam (Malayalam version of the Purakkad treaty of 14th March 1663 supplied by the Travancore Archaeological Department).

Ūlāntăyūm cŏmpănjĭyūm Kŏtchĭ Räjävūm Pĭrăkkät Räjävūm părănjū tĕḷĭnjū vĭchătĭchă prăkärävūm thăngăḷĭl kălpĭchă prăkärävūm ĭttū ēē mōōvărūm thăngăḷĭl ŏnnū pŏlĕ (vântūnnăthūm ŏrū nällărävū bhōōmĭ) ŏḷḷă nääḷ vărĕkkūm kēēzhĭl kăzhĭnjăthŏkkĕyūm mūzhūvăn mărănnăkkăyūm ătĭntĕ mōōlăm ĭvăr thăngăḷĭl vântūnnătă tăntŏshăvūm vêntĭkkĕyūm ĭttă ătĭttănūm shăndrănūmūllă (nääl vărĕ vânnămĕnnūm pĭrăkkäd) Räjävū vĕlĭyäyĭ kălpĭchătū kŏtchĭnättĭl vĭrăpăttĭppän vărūnnăvărŏt âttūprăkärămĕnnālūm ăvărŏtū präjŏkĭ ävän njän tănnĕ ĕnnūm kōōtĕ Pĭrăkkättū Räjävū värtăppäd (tărūnnōō tănĭkū ătăngĭyă nättĭl nĭnnūm Kŏtăvärmă Räjävĕ Kăḷăyūmărĕnnūm ŏrĭkkălūm pĭnnĕ vărättăvănnăm äyăkkūmärĕnnūm kŏmpănjĭkkū värtăppätū tănnătū ĭnĭmĕl Pärăngĭyŏtū vĭchättĭ (chăvănnăṁ Kŏmpănjĭyŏtu Pĭrăkkä) tū Räjävū värttăpätū tărūnnōō Mĭḷăkūm Kărūväyūm pĭttĭkkĭnnūmĭllă Mărūttĭkkĭl kŏtūttū äyăkĭnnūmĭllĕnnūm Kŏmpănjĭ älätĕ

öppôdĕyūm Kŏchĭ Räjä (vĭntĕ öppôdĕyūm kōōtĕ ällättĕ chĕykă ĭllĕnnūm ĭjjă) năngăl tănnĕ ävĕnnūm Kŏmpănjĭkkū Pĭrăkätū Räjävĭntē näättĭl Kăllūkŏntū ŏrū vēēdū (Văykūmärănnūm ättū ăvărūde chărăkkĭntĕ ūrūtĭkkūm nârăm-mănnăm nätăkkänūm Pĭräkkäd Räjävū Värttăpätū tărūnnōō ĭnĭmāl änă) kăyūm ĭrăkkūkăyūm ĭllĕnnūm Pĭräkkätū Räjävū värttäppätū tărūnnū. Părūnkĭtĕ ărūmättū täntĕ tâshättū kĭttăkkūnnă tănnūtĭ (năzhĭnjă ärtăm kŏtūkkūmpŏl ĭngŏttū tărūmärĕnnūm välĭyŏrū ănnyŏnnyăttĭntĕ ătäyäḷăttĭnū Pĭräkkättū Räjävū ūttănĕ Ĭrūnōōrū kŏl nēēḷättĭl Vättă ĭttĭchū nĭrăttănăm. Kŏchĭ Räjävĭntĕ dhĭkkĭl chârnnătăttĕtăchâzhăm nĭrttĭ (văchäl Kŏmpănjĭk-kūm Kŏchĭ Räjävĭnūm präsädhămäkūm vănnăm tĕ ătĭntĕ shĭkshă tēēr-kăyūm ărū) tū Kŏmpănjĭyĕ värttăpättū tărūnunōō. Ēerăntĕtăttĕkkūm präjŏkĭyägu vărūnnăvărŏtū präjŏkĭtchă säkäyĭppänŏllă (tĭnū ĕnnū vĭchĕstū nätăkkūmĕnnäl ănnŏlăvūm kälpĭkkūnnōō. Ächäräm pŏrūm vănnăm nătănnū kŏ) nĕrĭmūră nătăttĭ kŏllūmärĕnnūm säkălărūm ănĭväthĭchă ĕllärūm Kŏmpănjĭkkū ănūbhūvĭkkăntūnnăt ăvvă (nnăm tănnĕ ä vălĭ-măyŏtăyūm pălăthŏtăyūm ănūbhăvĭkkăyūm Vânăm ĭttū äräyĭttū ĕzhūthĭ) mōōnnū ŏlăyūm mōōnnū kătūttächĭyūm mōōnnătătteēnnū ŏppūm ĭttū ŏrĕ kătăttächĭyūm ŏre ŏlĕyūm ŏrŏttĕrū vătchākkĕyūm Kŏmpănjĭyūm kŏchĭ Räjävūm Pĭräkkättū Räjävūm ĭngănĕ ĭrūnnū kŏllūkăyūm.

CHAPTER XI

DUTCH RELATIONS WITH TRAVANCORE AND HER SUBORDINATE STATES

Travancore Travancore was one of the kingdoms which had voluntarily entered into treaties with the Dutch. But the King did not permit free pepper trade in his lands. Free trade in other wares was, however, allowed, and the exclusion of other European nations was also specifically guaranteed. He was a powerful prince who formerly exercised his authority from Cayalpatnam on the coast of Madura to Purakkad. The reigning King was adopted from a Cochin house called Ramana Coil. The Travancore court had made frequent and earnest requests for the adoption as heirs of one of the Cochin princes and princesses. This was an advantageous thing for the Cochin crown. But the Commandeur could not secure the assent of the Cochin King to this proposal; not that the latter did not perceive the advantages of the proposal, but the proposed adoption was to be from the Tchazhiyur branch of the Cochin house to which the Cochin ruler was not favourably inclined. There had been no estrangement between the Company and Travancore, but the latter entertained certain baseless misapprehensions owing to the prohibition of the export of arecanut. Because he was an adopted prince, he had not the good fortune to command the good will of the landholders and specially of the princess of Attingal. The domestic differences made him weak and incapable

of exercising his great powers. But because these difficulties were remote from the interests of the Company and not of a nature to damage them, Van Rheede was always, under courteous pretexts, rejecting and postponing the request made to him to interfere on behalf of the Raja as the weaker party and settle their quarrels, it being his intention not to incur the displeasure of those princes.[1]

Treaties between the Dutch and Travancore We come across four treaties betwen the Dutch and Travancore during this period.

The First Treaty The first treaty was concluded on the 31st March, 1662 and ran as follows:[2]

"Further agreement between the Raja of Travancore and Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens concluded in the town of Kallada in the province of Coylan.

"There shall be perpetual peace between the Raja and the company, and the Rajia and town of Coylan together with the Portuguese mines, lands etc. will be the property of the Company.

"Native Christians will remain in the same situation as heretofore.

"No Portuguese will be allowed to remain in the country after the conclusion of the treaty.

"The pepper trade was to belong exclusively to the Company. No vessels will be allowed to sail without the Company's pass.

"The native authorities were to support the Company in collecting outstanding debts.

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[1] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XII, page 17.

[2] Dutch treaties in Mackenzie MSS. page 325. (Document No. 255, Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, page 204.)

"The Company's servants will enjoy personal security in every part of the country.

"The duties will be lessened and annual presents sent to the Raja as expressed at large in the contract.

"As soon as this treaty shall be signed, the merchants will be permitted to bring their goods to the market.

"As soon as the present good understanding between the Company and the Raja shall have existed without intermission for the space of eight months, the Admiral will make His Highness a present of several guns and 15,000 fannams in specie.

"No trees or houses will be put up on the empty space adjoining the town of Coylan.

The Second treaty In the second treaty of 2nd March, 1664, Travancore and Signatty were played against each other. [3]

"Further agreement about the toll of five fannams ragia for the export of pepper and import of opium concluded between the United Dutch East India Company by the merchant Joan Nijhof, delegate of the Hon'ble Lord Jacob Hustaert, extraordinary councillor of India, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon and the coast of Malabar on the one side, and the Queen of Signatty, the Ragiadoors Marrapaty, the Kurup of Travancore and the Bariatt Pilla on the other side.

"That nobody in these lands shall import opium for barter or sale except the Hon'ble Company, and each party shall be free to seize and confiscate the opium brought in violation of this, one half for the Company and the other half for the above mentioned rulers.

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[3] Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, Document No. 282.

"That nobody, whoever it may be, shall export from their lands any pepper or wild cinnamon to sell or barter to any one other than the Hon'ble Company on pain of the death penalty, and the rulers promise to prevent this by all possible means.

"Besides the ordinary tolls, the Hon'ble Company promises to honour the above named rulers every year with a sum of three fannams raja for each candy of pepper delivered to the Hon'ble Company with the stipulation that when opium, pepper or wild cinnamon was brought out of their lands or exported from elsewhere through their lands without the order of the Company, these tolls and gifts shall not be paid.

"Pepper or wild cinnamon exported without permission of the Company was to be seized by the Companv and a payment of four rajas per candy to be given to the rulers.

In its final form, the treaty was signed on the 2nd March.

The Third Treaty In spite of the above treaties, the Ruler of Travancore was one of the difficult elements for the Company in its attempt to seize supremacy on the West Coast of India, all the more so because under him there were a number of Liliputian kingdoms. With some differences, treaties had been gradually concluded with these kingdoms, but not effectively with Travancore so that the portals of foreign trade were still open to other nations through the Zamorin's land and Travancore. In April, 1665, the latter perceived the value of the Company's friendship and entered into the following treaty: [4]

"Firstly, there shall be between the Company and the King of Travancore peace and friendship so long as the sun and moon shall last.

[4] Heeres: No. 301. Also page 351 of Mackenzie *MSS.*

"2. All enemies of the Hon'ble Company shall be foes of the King of Travancore and, in case of need, both parties shall show to each other all possible help and assistance as their circumstances shall permit.

"3. No European nation, whether the Portuguese, Spaniard, Italian, French, English, Danish, Swedish, or any other—no one without exception shall be allowed ever to live, or trade in his lands by the King of Travancore.

"4. All the pepper produced in the kingdom of Travancore, the King promises to deliver exclusively to the Hon'ble Company at Coylan.

"5. The King promises that at no place on the coast shall pepper be allowed to be smuggled by anybody in the world.

"6. All the pepper smuggled from the land and seized by the people of the Company or the King shall be confiscated, half for the Company and half for the King. If the smugglers shall be subjects of the King, they shall be handed over to the King for receiving punishment.

"7. No one except the Company and their servants shall have power to bring opium by water to the kingdom of Travancore.

"8. The King promises for all time not to permit wild cinnamon to be exported from or pealed in his kingdom.

"9. The King takes under his protection and custody the goods and persons that are already at the lodge Tengapatnam or shall hereafter be brought there.

"10. All the incoming goods and merchandise brought by the Hon'ble Company shall pay no toll.

"11. On all wares brought by the Hon'ble Company the toll shall be paid through the sellers from Coylan as has been customary there from of old.

"12. If any dispute arise between subjects of both sides, the guilty shall be punished by his master according to his custom and law. In case of murder by either side, the guilty person shall be killed by his own judge without respect of person.

"13. If any of the Company's subjects runs away and is retained in the King's lands, the King shall be obliged to hand him over to the Company."

The Fourth Treaty The last treaty, that of the 10th August 1666, dealt with the Romish priests:[5]

"What time the Hon'ble Company and the King of Travancore became friends, it was agreed to drive the Romish priests of St. Paul's living between Coylan and Cape Comorin, and they were not to be admitted again so long as the friendship between the Company and the King lasts.

"2. The Company promised to give passports to the King's vessels and merchants sailing between the Cape and Coylan, and the fishermen shall not be hindered in their fishery.

"3. As has been customary from old times, the Company shall have friendly dealings with the fishermen Christians.

"4. When the fishermen Christians desire the services of any priests who are born Indians and are not Jesuits, the Hon'ble Company shall not obstruct, but on the contrary, render all proper help.

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[5] Document No. 309 Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

"5. That the Company's servants shall do no violence to the vessels sailing between the Cape and Coylan, and shall deal with them in all friendship so that there might be no differences between them.

"6. The income of the church shall remain for the priests who shall come on the coast.

DUTCH RELATIONS WITH THE SUBORDINATE KINGDOMS OF TRAVANCORE

1. **Attingal** The Princess of Attingal, who was not only the mother of the ruler of Travancore and the oldest branch of the mighty dominion of Tripapaswarupam but also possessed and governed a great land separated from Travancore, was also included under the covenant with the Company.[6] No separate treaty with Attingal is found in the documents of the *Corpus Diplomaticum* covering the dates 1596–1678, but a dateless treaty with Attingal is included in the English translation of Dutch treaties found in the Mackenzie MSS.[7] That document from the place of its occurrence in the Mackenzie MSS. may have been drawn up on a date between 1682 and 1688. Though strictly outside the limits of the present treatise, the treaty shows the kind of stipulations which the Dutch wanted to impose on Attingal and other principalities.

"Contract with the Queen of Attinghe stipulating that a perpetual peace will exist between Her Highness and the Dutch—that the Company will have liberty to build a stone church and other buildings at Anjunga, that the pepper and wild cinnamon collected in Her Highnesse's dominion will be sold exclusively to the Dutch Company, that no other European nation will be allowed to have factories or to trade with the Queen's subjects, that all illicit trading

[6] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14) chapter XIII, page 18.
[7] Dutch treaties in Mackenzie MSS. page 484.

vessels will be confiscated and the property equally divided between Her Highness and the Company, that the importation of opium will be permitted to the Dutch Company only, that the native authorities will compell all debtors of the Company to pay their dues, that the Dutch Resident will be duly protected, that no import duties will be paid by the Dutch but that they will pay the same duty on goods exported as at Coylang."

2. **Signatty** It was against the will of the Queen of Signatty that the Dutch took the Portuguese fortress of Quilon.[8] The Dutch had entered into an alliance of peace and friendship with this Queen. The Ruler of Travancore was also a party to some of these treaties. On the 29th February 1664, we find a definite agreement concluded with the Queen respecting the tolls at Quilon and the Company's opium, pepper and cinnamon monopoly.[9] At the close of his tenure of office as Commandeur (1677), Van Rheede felt that the treaty with Signatty was being strictly observed without any dissatisfaction. On the other hand, there were many signs of affection. As soon as the Nayars of Quilon were informed by the Dutch that enemy ships were seen or expected on the coast, they immediately appeared armed in large numbers on the shore about the fort with earnest offers that, if the Dutch were not strong enough to garrison the place, they themselves would go to the help of the Dutch. Later, the people of Quilon became deeply irritated with the Dutch because the Company's servants at Tuticorin had illtreated the vessels of Quilon with their loaded merchandise, obstructed their trade, lifted the arecanut and treated inimically; and because Van Rheede had weakened their freedom of trade and refused passports to them, they were continually persisting in their demands for the

[8] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), chapter XIV, page 18.

[9] Dutch treaties in Mackenzie MSS., page 338.

reparation of the losses endured and the restoration of the confiscated goods. Thus they considered that the treaty of friendship was violated by the Company—a matter on which Van Rheede could not disabuse their minds. This kingdom was divided into three regions and governed by three persons, namely the Signatty, the Bariattepillay and the Kurup of Travancore, and lay continually in disorder. But in order that and of the parties might preserve the bonds of friendship with the Company, it was felt undesirable for the Dutch to interfere in their quarrels otherwise than for reconciling them again. They were quite satisfied with this position so that in spite of their mutual wars they were inclined to give free entrance in their territories to the Company's servants without any suspicion of the Company being more inclined to one party than the other. Because each of them is unfriendly to the others, the Company had no fears. At all times, the Company had great advantages if some party took up their side. But if estrangement arose between them and the Company in the matter of the arecanut, they had to choose their own line of action.

Signatty a Counterweight to Travancore Van Rheede always used Signatty as a counterweight to Travancore who was ever intending to oppress Quilon and Kayamkulam. It was not good that Travancore acquired too much power, for in that case she would become as powerful south of Cochin as the Zamorin was in the north. This policy was acceptable alike to Signatty and Kayamkulam. Van Rheede had counselled the same attitude against the court of Marta or Karunagapally.

Quarrels Between the Queen and Her Niece The Dutch were not involved in the quarrels between the Queen and her niece on the question of adoption as all the persons involved in it were alike friendly to the Company. That

the kingdom was governed by women was in some respects advantageous to the Dutch as their power was limited. They would not quickly decide on any action as men would, and everywhere there was respect for the Queen because of her years.

The Dutch Profit by Internal Dissensions English merchants thought that the Dutch profited by the differences between the various persons who possessed ruling power in the locality. Quilon was, as already stated, divided into three governments. These three rulers were for the most part at differences one with the other which "the crafty Hollander made use of, and for his money got great part of the natives to connive at his landing; for had they united themselves together, the Hollanders would not have ventured to have landed their soldiers."[10]

3. **Marta (Karunagapally)** Several treaties were made between this ruler and the Dutch Company on the same lines as those with the Signatty excluding all other European nations from the foreign trade of the kingdom. The first treaty was concluded by Nieuhof on the 7th February, 1664. The following were the terms:[11]

"1. Between the parties there shall be a firm and perpetual peace and friendship so that both sides may trust each other.

"2. The King promises that the pepper and wild cinnamon produced in his land will be sold to or be carried by no one other than the Hon'ble Company, especially to no other European nation whoever he may be.

"3. That, by water or land, none of the aforesaid spices shall be carried to any place where the English, the

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[10] Foster: English Factories.

[11] Dutch treaties in Mackenzie MSS. page 337 and Document No. 279 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum,* Vol. II.

French, Portuguese or any other European nation may reside which the King promises all his merchants to forbid.

"4. When it be felt that any merchants came to transport or to sell to any other pepper or wild cinnamon, the same shall be seized and made prize by the Hon'ble Company and the King, one half for the King and the other half for the Company.

"5. If a subject of the King or a subject of the Company is involved in a dispute, each shall administer justice according to the customs and usage of his country.

"6. The King promises that no one shall bring opium to his land either for sale or for exchange against pepper except the Hon'ble Company, and the King and the Company shall be free to seize and make prize all such goods, one half going to His Majesty.

"7. The King promises, to the best of his power, to make the merchants pay all outstanding debts, also to make them fulfil promptly at the appointed time all the contracts that have been made.

"8. The ordinary tolls shall be paid according to the old usage before the shipping of pepper and not more.

The Second Treaty A second treaty, concluded on the 29th January 1665, contains a confirmation of the former and a promise not to trade with Moorish traders who deal in prohibited goods, but on the contrary to prevent encroachments on their monopoly, and the Raja engages to assist them in the collection of their outstanding debts.[12]

"1. No Moorish traders coming from outside or dwelling in this land shall have power to trade or to import or export any merchandise.

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[12] Dutch treaties in Mackenzie MSS., Page 347 and Document No. 293 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, page 303.

"2. That the Company shall have power, in addition to the confiscation of all forbidden goods imported or exported by Moorish merchants, to punish severely such merchants.

"3. The Company's people shall, according to their pleasure, establish and maintain, freely and unhindered, on the shore and at other places, guards for supervising the exportation and importation of forbidden goods, and the King promises to reinforce such guards by his own Nayars so that there might be no inconvenience to the Dutch.

"4. If it happened that the aforesaid guard or guards of the Company were molested or badly treated by any one, then the King shall inform his subjects and lands what he has permitted and agreed to on this matter.

"5. The stone ware-house for the furthering of the Company's trade, already permitted and promised by the King, shall be built by the Company on the shore or at any other place which they consider proper.

"6. The merchants of these lands, dealing with the Company and standing in debt to the same, shall be under their power so that payment may be secured and enforced.

The Third Treaty The Dutch war with England and the French seems to have been influenced by the renewal in 1672 of the Dutch treaty with Marta. This third treaty, besides renewing the earlier treaty, contained the following additional clauses: [13]

"1. That no Moorish traders will be allowed to export or import any goods in the Raja's dominions on pain of confiscation of the goods and vigorous punishment for the offenders.

"2. The Company will be allowed to place guards along the coast who will be assisted by the Nayars when necessary.

[13] Document No. 341 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, page 480

"3. All the pepper which may be confiscated will be equally divided between the Raja and the Company.

English Efforts to Violate the Dutch Monopoly In spite of these treaties, the English several times tried, says Van Rheede, to dwell and trade in his lands.[14] But he was so much threatened on behalf of the Dutch by the rulers of Quilon and Kayamkulam that the Raja refused permission to the English. The rulers of these two kingdoms which surrounded his territory did so not only out of regard for the Dutch, but also to keep him under check in their own interests. As Travancore was the protector of the Marta ruler and would offer him all possible help, Van Rheede persuaded these rulers to make his cause theirs. But Travancore, through his delegate at the court of Karunagapally, always took care to see that the treaties with the Company were kept up. As already stated, the Company possessed the right of putting up guards on this coast. But it was done only by permission. Travancore had taken Marta and Kayamkulam under his protection to prevent their incorporation in neighbouring kingdoms. As such union was not advantageous to the Dutch Company, it was the aim of the Company to prevent many kingdoms coming under a single ruler.

4. **Kayamkulam** Kayamkulam was the oldest ally of the Dutch on the Malabar coast. The treaty of 1643 was renewed twice i.e. on the 31st March, 1662 and 8th February, 1665.

The Treaty of 1662[15] "1. The old treaty concluded between the deceased King of Kayamkulam and the Company in 1643 shall remain in full force, and, towards fur-

[14] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XVI, page 19.

[15] Document No. 256 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, page 207 and Dutch treaties in Mackenzie MSS., page 327.

ther alliance and assurance between both nations, it is decided and agreed as follows:

"2. That the pepper produced in the above mentioned King's land shall be sold to no one but the Hon'ble Company, particularly to no European nation, as English, French, Portuguese or others whoever it may be.

"3. That, by water or land, nor by any inland lakes, no pepper may be transported to any place or lodge where the above said nations may want to remain, particularly to Porca and Cochin, and that the King shall forbid all the merchants by interdict to carry the goods so that this condition may be properly kept.

"4. And if it befalls that any of the above merchants tried, in violation of this treaty, to export any pepper and the same is overtaken by the King or the Company, the same pepper shall be confiscated to the profit of the King and Company, each party taking one half.

"5. The Company was hereby allowed and permitted to build a stone house on the shore or the river side (it being understood that they consider it necessary for the safe custody of the pepper) of such height, thickness and length as the King shall deem fit.

On the 8th February, 1665 the Gricol (probably the Kariakkar or minister) of the King of Kayamkulam promised and assured, in the name and on behalf of his lord the King, to subdue to the might of the Hon'ble Company, according to the King's uttermost power, with his people and others, the enemies who have committed misdeeds against the Company until the Company had obtained full satisfaction, it being the King's honest intention to fight against the King's enemies from the south to the north and from the east to the west so that the ears of the Hon'ble

Company may take pleasure thereon and the honour of the Admiral upheld.[16]

The Ruler's Complaint Against the Dutch Though the Kayamkulam ruler conceded many favours to the Dutch Company, he too had his complaints against the Company's officers in Malabar. However he was a good friend of the Company and the Dutch nation. The King was the last of his generation, and a prince of the five houses of Travancore named Peritalli stood heir to him who sought to unite Peritalai and Kayamkulam. Kayamkulam was used by Van Rheede as a check against Karunagapally, also to keep within limits the influence of Purakkad, Carembali and Tekkenkur. Because his neighbours were hated by him for the violence and molestation he suffered at their hands and because he was envious of them for his own reasons, his friendship to the Company could be well understood. He voluntarily gave to the Company an island between the rivers of Quilon and Kayamkulam, situated right in the middle of the channel. If the company became his enemies, they could injure him by putting up a fort in this island.[17]

5. **Bettimene** (Carembali) was subdued as the result of a perilous war. An exclusive contract[18] was made with him; as penalty for an ugly murder of the Dutch begun by the ruler, a piece of land situated on the sea coast was given in ownership to the Dutch. This was brought about through pressure exerted by Purakkad, Kayamkulam and Cochin. Without the help of these princes, the Dutch could not have succeeded in compelling Bettimene to come to terms. At the time when Van Rheede wrote, the King

[16] Document No. 296 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

[17] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14) chapter XVII, page 19.

[18] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), chapter XIX, page 19.

of Bettimene was also ruler of Marta. Thus the two kingdoms were united. The other Malabar kings, named above, kept him small and at peace with the Company; the Ruler of Bettimene on his part had not in any way forgotten how he was treated and how much he suffered at the hands of these princes and the Dutch. Van Rheede also used him as a safeguard to be used against Kayamkulam, if need arose, in matters which did not concern this Kingdom. In matters which were of common importance to them, they would of course easily unite.

The treaty of 1665 It was only after the Raja of Carembali had committed hostile deeds against the Company and vengeance was taken for his rascally deeds by burning and destroying many houses that he agreed to the advantageous terms of the treaty concluded on the 27th February, 1665.[19]

"Translation of (the treaty of) peace and friendship made and concluded between the Hon'ble Lord Rijcklof Van Goens, Admiral and Field Commander on behalf of the State of the United Dutch East India Company, and the King of Cochin on the one side, and the Raja of Carembali on the other side.

"1. The above mentioned Raja of Carembali, because of the misdeeds perpetrated by his evil counsellors, transfers his own estate named Calicaroe, with the adjoining ground situated on the sea coast between the southern boundary of Pagodingo (Trikunnapuzha) and the northernmost boundary of Kayamkulam, to the obedience and jurisdiction of the Hon'ble Company with all the vassals or subjects to the State, ceding the right of rent collection and possession for all time or so long as the sun and moon shall last.

"Secondly, as an act of penitence for the murder of five Dutch or white men, the said Raja shall, with this,

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19 Document No. 298 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

hand over to the Dutch Company five persons of Moorish race.

"Thirdly, any of the said Moorish nation, at present permitted in the land or any place in the dominion of the above mentioned Raja of Carembali, shall for ever remain banished.

"Fourthly, (the Raja) gives and conveys to the Hon'ble Company, along with this, the church and the dependent gardens formerly possessed and occupied by the Portuguese and their Romish priests.

"Fifthly, the above mentioned Raja of Carembali shall hand over to the King of Cochin an elephant as a penalty for the murder of two of the latter's Nayars ; when this contract is promptly followed and observed, the above mentioned Raja shall accept the Hon'ble Company as a friend and take them in his protection besides assisting, according to time and opportunity, as reasonableness requires.

The Second treaty As a French fleet appeared in western Asia at the end of the year 1671 and there were rumours of the possibility of a war with the English also, it was thought necessary to strengthen the existing understanding with Malabar princes. Accordingly, the following treaty was signed at Karthikapally on the 17th July 1672 between Matthews Berkman, merchant and head of the south Malabar factory, on behalf of Hendrik Van Rheede of Drakensteyn, Commandeur of Malabar and Canara, on the one side and the Raja of Carembali on the other side.[20] According to this, all contracts and alliances, formerly made with the Hon'ble Dutch Company, were renewed and confirmed on both sides with a view to be observed and followed for all time as indicated in the following clauses:

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[20] Document No. 339 (page 473) in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

"1. Firstly, the King promises that all the pepper and wild cinnamon produced in his lands shall be sold to no one other than the Dutch Company, and particularly to no European nation like the English, French, Portuguese, or others whoever it may be.

"2. That by water or land, nor through any inland water ways, no pepper shall be carried to any places of residence where the above nations may be proceeding to, particularly to Porca and Cochin.

"3. The King shall, by interdict, forbid all merchants from carrying the above mentioned articles so that this treaty may be properly kept.

"4. And if it befell that, contrary to this contract, any of the said merchants tried to carry any pepper and were overtaken by the Hon'ble Company or the King, the same pepper shall be confiscated to the profit of the King and the Hon'ble Company, each side taking one half.

"5. No Moorish merchants, whether coming from outside or dwelling in these lands, shall have the power to trade or export or import any merchandise.

"6. That the Hon'ble Company shall have the power, besides confiscation of the above goods, to give severe punishment to all moorish and inland merchants who are found to have exported the forbidden goods.

"7. If any subject of the King or any subject of the Hon'ble Company became involved in disputes, each shall be judged according to the custom and usage of his land.

Result of the Treaties These treaties confirm the statement already made about the subjugation of Carembali. No risks were taken with this ruler, and he was made to feel that he had no alternative but to succumb to the power of the Dutch Company.

CHAPTER XII

DUTCH PROGRESS IN THE STATES OF NORTHERN KERALA (1662—1678)

A. THE DUTCH AND THE ZAMORIN

The Zamorin was the guide and foremost help for the Dutch Company in the activities connected with the landing at Cochin. After the capture of Cochin and the expulsion of the Portuguese, he broke the treaties made with the Dutch as militating against the interests of his subjects.[1] The following are the treaties under reference:

First Treaty "Contract between the King Zamorin on the one side and the United Dutch East India Company on the other side included in the name of the Lord Governor-General of India and Councillors of India with the Lord Rijcklof Van Goens, ordinary Councillor of India and his Council (7th March, 1662)[2]

"1. There shall be a perpetual peace between the King Zamorin and the Dutch nation in all sincerity.

"2. The Zamorin promises to contribute from his people, to the Dutch military forces, 2000 Nayars who shall be led by himself or one of the princes of his blood.

"3. He also promises daily to order 300 coolies for daily labour.

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[1] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XXV, page 24.

[2] Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, Document No. 253, page 199 and Mackenzie MSS. page 324.

"4. That all the pepper produced in the Zamorin's land shall be and remain for the Hon'ble Company according to the market price without being carried or allowed to be carried or sold to any other nation, whether native merchants, foreigners or Europeans, and without being subjected to the payment of any toll so long as the Company's garrison shall remain in Cranganore, and that subsequently the Company shall pay such toll as shall be agreed, and, when the Zamorin desires to send any pepper to Mecca or elsewhere, the same shall be permitted with the written consent of the Upper Head in the Company's name as equity shall require.

"5. All materials, whether timber, cocoanut, or lime and mud necessary for the defence of the fortification, shall be ordered or permitted by the Zamorin to be provided with the labour of the coolies.

"6. That the Dutch shall, for their money, be supplied, within 25 days, 20,000 fathom good hard lead and their people proper food according to the price of the land.

"7. That so long as our garrison lies at Cranganore, the Company shall buy and freely send, out of the Cranganore river and other places, all the merchandise produced in the Zamorin's land, particularly wood works, cardamom and wax.

"8. If the Company might be able to capture Cochin, Cranganore shall be demolished by the Zamorin, and the guns captured from the Portuguese shall be divided according to the previous agreement.

"9. That in this contract shall be included the Kings of Cranganore, the Paliyatteer, and all Malabar princes who wish to be included in this alliance.

"10. If any of the merchants who trade with the Company happen to run away, the Zamorin shall hand them

over again, and these merchants shall not be oppressed with other burdens but shall be protected under the Company.

"11. If any of the Dutch is involved in a quarrel with the natives and any misfortune takes place or if any of the natives does violence to the Dutch, the guilty shall be delivered to their respective heads so that punishment may be administered according to the laws of each side, but all manslaughter shall on both sides be punished with death.

"12. If any of the Dutch at any time takes to flight, the Zamorin shall give no refuge in his land to such a person, but with all duty try to track him with a view to hand him over to the Dutch authority.

"13. The Company promises on their part to keep for the Zamorin or the princes thereunto entitled, according to their power, the fort Cranganore and also Palliport and Baypeen, if practicable, till November next with a view to further negotiations.

The Second Treaty On the 15th February, 1663, an understanding was come to between the Dutch and the Zamorin for the evacuation by the former of the fort of Cranganore and the handing over of the same to the Zamorin.[3]

"To-day, in good friendship, assembled together the King Zamorin and the Raja of Cranganore for themselves and the Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens, in the name of the Governor-General and Councillors of India, on behalf of the Hon'ble Company. The contract between the above mentioned princes being reviewed, it was found that the Zamorin and allies, on the basis of this, claim at present the possession of the fort of Cranganore under such conditions as stated therein; so, in fulfilment of the same, the above mentioned fortress

[3] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1663, pages 181, 190, 325 and 411. Also Visher's Letters (Mackenzie MSS., page 210) referred to in Heeres, Document No. 258.

was, for the reason that the cannon were still there, directed to be handed over to the Zamorin on the departure of the Dutch garrison. Nothing was reserved for the Hon'ble Company except the performance of this duty.

On the 22nd February, 1663, a treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded with the Zamorin at Cochin in which he promised to fulfil punctually the stipulations of the contract of March 1662.[4]

"Firstly, it was made as a token of friendship between the Zamorin, his princes and heirs on one side and the Dutch Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens on behalf of the United Dutch Chartered East India Company on the other side, and on both sides it was to be in the manner of a sworn oath, and this shall last as long as the sun, the moon, the earth and the heavens shall be; and, in accordance with the treaty made on the Muscatboom, a merchant vessel shall be stationed in the lands of the King Zamorin.[5] And when anything befalls the King Zamorin, he shall inform the Dutch Admiral of the same and, when the enemies of the Dutch shall attempt to do anything against them, they shall similarly inform the Zamorin of the same; and both sides, having met together, shall take counsel so that things shall be done according to right and reason. The King Zamorin and the Company shall be as brothers, and all enemies of the Company shall be enemies of the Zamorin. Similarly, all good success according to right and reason without both sides failing in the above said contract.

The Zamorin turns Hostile All these contracts were however broken by the Zamorin who argued that it took

[4] Document No. 270 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, page 237 and Mackenzie MSS. page 331.

[5] Van Goens used the under merchant Pieter Vertangen for finding out the circumstances of the Zamorin's land, and the Zamorin allowed him to stay at Ponnani between Calicut and Cranganore. Baldæus quoted and commented by Heeres.

away his right of free trade and voyage on the sea which brought no small gain to the inhabitants and consequently to himself. He therefore began to seize Europeans in violation of treaties. This brought the friendship between the Zamorin and the Company to an end, and it was judged dangerous to allow the Zamorin to remain in possession of the fort of Cranganore which had been given to him in full possession with artillery according to the previous stipulation. So, without his knowledge, the fort, as also the cannon seized at the Hindu temple near the Zamorin's court, was taken from him. But taking into consideration the great power of the Zamorin and the fact that the fort could not be made defensible in a short time, the Dutch induced the Raja of Cochin to attack the Zamorin in other places and thus divert the latter's attention so that the Dutch could gain time to make defensible the fortification already begun.

The Zamorin invites the English In 1664, in spite of his undertakings with the Dutch, the Zamorin sent several invitations to the English.

" We had several invitations from the King of Callicut (or Samarin) who hath in a manner courted us once more to settle in his port of Callicut, promising all respect and civil usage...... He seems to esteeme much of us and hath promised that, if we will settle a factory, not to admit if any Dutch come into his country." [6]

The third prince of the Zamorin at Cochin The Dutch Governor invited the third prince of the Zamorin to Cochin ; [7] when the latter came over to Cochin, representations were made to him about the bad treatment of the Dutch Resident and the slackness in the delivery of pepper. He made some unconvincing explanation. The fact of the matter was that

[6] Foster: English Factories, 1661–64, page 356.
[7] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1664, 12th May, page 172.

he wanted the help of the Dutch to drive out his enemy, the King of Betatte, and for that purpose asked for two ships, promising to give full satisfaction to the Dutch. It was thus clear that the Malabar princes sought the help of the Dutch only to use the same against their enemies, and it was not thought advisable to enhance the greatness of the Zamorin by subjugating the King of Betatte.

Difficulties of the Dutch Resident in the Zamorin's Land The Dutch Resident in the Zamorin's land could not carry on any trade. He could not even get a house to store his goods in. The inland merchants, mostly Muhammadans, offered very low prices for Dutch wares. They would not sell pepper for less than 20 Rixdollars per candy. There was no demand for opium. For cardamom, the price asked was 120 Rixdollars per candy, and for sandalwood 16 Rixdollars per candy. In Calicut harbour, there were five vessels, ready to set off to Mocha, Muscat and Surat and loaded with 1000 or 1200 candies of pepper waiting for the passport of the Governor. There were rumours that the English of the ship the *Hope* had held particular conferences with the people of Calicut, and that they had secured cargoes of sandalwood and cardamom. In the land of the Zamorin, there was a powerful crowd of Moors moving about vigorously on the sea and engaging themselves in different branches of trade. From these the Zamorin derived great tolls and revenue. They strirred up the Zamorin to violate the contract already concluded.

The Dutch Governor and Banyans Subsequently, the Governor Hustaert, on returning from Cannanore, touched at Calicut and Ponnani and found a vessel of a Banyan, belonging to Diu, anchored in Calicut and provided with Portuguese passports. The Governor took possession of the pepper loaded in it with only 5000 lbs. and paid at the current market price. But the greatest difficulty arose out

of this. For the aforesaid Banyan requested passport for four of his vessels which, besides other licensed merchandise, had 800 candies of pepper ready for loading on board, and alleged in justification certain articles of the contract. After some delay, the Governor accepted his proposal and agreed to give passes to the departing vessels if yearly certain fixed taxes on the pepper should be paid to the Company. There were also clauses that his merchants could on their return bring freely opium and cotton because that was not forbidden in the contract; it was only the keeping of wild cinnamon that was not permitted. It was felt that there should be a firmer contract with the Zamorin as the profit was very great. At Kayamkulam alone, 6,400 lbs. opium were sold the previous year for 58,000 guilders. It was not advisable to have war with the Zamorin. Threats must disappear; orders of His Excllency were expected on this point. It was worthy of note that, in the contract, it was stipulated that the pepper for the Company should be paid at the current market price. The Dutch were bound in all honesty to carry it out, the price at Calicut, Ponnani and even Cannanore being not less than 20 Rixdollars per candy.

Claims of the King of Cochin Left Undecided The King of Cochin was meanwhile claiming a piece of land to the north of Cranganore against the Zamorin, but the Governor meanwhile left the question undetermined.[8]

The Zamorin's Position Still Strong The Dutch refused passes to Calicut merchants because the English had a factory there.[9] The Zamorin's position was still strong,

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[8] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1664, 12th May, page 173.

[9] A letter to the English Company from Oxenden at Surat dated 31st March 1665 says: "Some Malabar vessels inform us that the Dutch are much offended at our settling a factory at Calicut, which proves so great an eyesore to them that they refuse to give passes to the inhabitants that are merchants and trade to Surat,

and because he was afraid of the Dutch, he helped the English and kept the Dutch at a distance. In a letter from Calicut,[10] the English factors there gave news of the arrival of the Flemish at Ponnani to request licence of the Zamorin to seize the English. It was added that, if the request was refused, the Dutch might attempt force.

Relations with the Zamorin There is an entry in the *Batavia Dag Register* for 22nd June, 1665, specifying that 100 lasts (200 tons) of pepper should be delivered annually to the Company from the Zamorin's land, and recording an agreement that no wild cinnamon shall be pealed in his land or that the same, if pealed, shall be given only to the Dutch Company, and that the Company was free to bring all merchandise to the Zamorin's land without paying any toll. When a complaint was made to the third prince of the Zamorin's land about the loading of pepper by the English ship, the *Royal Charles*, the prince replied that he had not the least knowledge of that matter, that pepper was not acquired from his people but purchased from the Moors, and that he did not possess such absolute power in his land as to prevent such things. The Governor was able in 1665 to bring to a happy termination the dispute between the Zamorin and the King of Cochin. The Zamorin handed over to the King of Cochin the province of Kattoor, but he was allowed to retain two other provinces of smaller value.

The Batavia Government Approves Dutch Policy Regarding the Zamorin The Batavia Dairy of 1665 also contains an instruction to Van Goens from Batavia approv-

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Mocha, Bussora, Muscat, etc. giving their reason because they have received the English and sell them pepper which we beseech you to take notice of that some speedy course may be taken before you lose all never to be recovered again; for if it should once appear that they have all the power and you none, you may bid adieu to all trade in these parts and others too."

[10] Foster: English Factories, 28th July 1665 (1665-68 Vol.), page 144.

ing the further contract for trade made with the Zamorin.[11] Van Goens was also informed that it was impossible to introduce any law about the import of opium and that the Dutch should not generally interfere in disputes between Malabar princes, but such interference was necessary in the disputes between the Zamorin and the King of Cochin. It was also indicated that the Zamorin and Ali Raja of Cannanore could not be forbidden to supply to Mocha or other places when they had fulfilled their contract.

The Position in the Zamorin's Land The position in the Zamorin's land is thus described in the *Batavia Dag Register* for the 26th November, 1665 (page 361): "Everything stands on the previous terms, but the continued stay of the English at Calicut was suspicious. They were afraid that the promised 100 lasts of pepper from the Zamorin's land would not be forthcoming. Van Goens intended, as soon as he had the necessary forces for that, to cruise on the coast. The best cardamom was produced there; however dear the price, half the demand should be supplied as an experiment." The captain of a Portuguese ship which left Goa in the previous January brought the intelligence that the Zamorin had taken up arms against the Dutch Company and made himself master of the fortress of Cranganore and another place, Castello, belonging to the princes of Cochin.[12] From the letter of the English merchants at Calicut dated the 7th November, 1666,[13] it is seen that, while the Zamorin pretended that he was breaking friendship with the Dutch because of the English, the real reason was to prevent their becoming masters of his country and for the regaining of fifteen brass guns which they had lately taken out of the second Raja's house at Cranganore;

[11] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665 14th September, page 260.

[12] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1666, 17th April, page 263.

[13] Foster: English Factories, English Letter from Calicut dated 7th November, 1666.

for this, in a small contest with the Dutch, some of his Nayars were wounded. Another reason for the Dutch war against the Zamorin was, according to the same English letter, "his assuming unto himself the government after the decease of the late Zamorin without their consent or approbation."

Growing Dutch Influence at Calicut The growing influence of the Dutch at Calicut is reflected in the letter of the English factors at Surat dated the 22nd January, 1668.

"Your factory of Calicut is in great danger to be utterly lost together with what estate you have there .... For the Dutch are incessant solicitors to the great Zamorin or King of those countries that he would dismiss your servants and suffer them to plunder your warehouses." The English could not get their goods conveyed from there as "the terror of the Dutch is so very strong upon all these eastern people that we cannot get any merchant vessel to go from hence for it nor yet the owners of vessels that belong to that port (whereof there are many) to bring it thence. The Dutch are daily plying the Zamorin and the courtiers with large presents and more spacious promises. We fear they may at last prevail."

Enmity Between the Dutch and the Zamorin In spite of English fears to the contrary, the Zamorin was growing more hostile to the Dutch. Unwilling to acquiesce in the supremacy of the Dutch Company, he remained inimical to them in spite of the treaties concluded. In 1667, there was a threat of war between the Dutch and the Zamorin. This was the occasion of the treaty. The cause of the discord was to be found in the rivalry of the English and the desire of the Zamorin to intrude into Cochin. When peace was concluded between the English

and the Dutch, the latter, according to an English letter,[14] intended to prosecute vigorously their own war with the Zamorin, and it was certain that, in any agreement they might conclude with him, they would stipulate for the exclusion of the English from his dominions. Already, on the 14th August, Grigsby had written to Surat from Calicut that the Dutch "would now press hard upon the Zamorin and do their best to prevent the English from retaining any footing on the Malabar coast."

The Treaty of 1672 A treaty was however concluded with the Zamorin on the 11th February 1672.[15]

The treaty of 1672 is thus summarised in the Mackenzie MSS. "Treaty of peace between the Dutch Governor on the Malabar coast and the Great Samorine, King of Callicut—stipulating perpetual peace between the Company and the Samorine—forgetfulness of the past—offensive and defensive alliance exclusive of all other European nations from trade in his dominions—free trade to the Company—factories to be built by His Highness for the Company's use at Callicut and Panany (Ponnani), all goods to be allowed to be imported which the inhabitants are willing to buy—no duties to be paid by the Company either on exports or imports, but the established taxes to be levied on those who purchase or sell such goods—Dutch Residents to reside in the State of His Highness for the purpose of granting passes to such vessels as may require them—the native vessels to have permission to export to the northward all articles the produce of the Samorin's country—and to import from thence all goods etc. in demand in the market—but no pepper to be exported to the southward of Cranganore, opium imported in native vessels on severe

[14] Calicut letter to Surat dated 18th August, 1668, in Foster's English Factories extracting Grigsby's letter from Cochin dated 6th June.

[15] Mackenzie MSS. pages 393-95 and Document No. 335 in Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II.

penalty—vessels in distress to be assisted by either party on payment of salvage. The province of Cranganore to be governed by its own Raja under the protection of the Company—The Raja of Cochin being likewise placed under the protection of the Company, His Highness agreed to conclude an armistice of four years with that prince; during which period no fort will be allowed to be garrisoned with more than 25 men—all the differences between the two princes will be referred to the friendly decision of the allied chiefs and the Company will, when necessary, interpose their authority to prevent a breach of the armistice by the Raja of Cochin or the Samorin."

Uncertain Relations with the Zamorin The relations with the Zamorin however still remained uncertain. Commandeur Van Rheede and the Council of Cochin wrote on the 20th February 1676 that, on the expiry of the four years' truce, the Zamorin seemed inclined to go to war against the King of Cochin and the Company with a good army. But he was not able to say that it was certain.[16]

Cochin the Aggressor In the middle of 1677, the King of Cochin, after a truce of five years was concluded, invaded the Zamorin's land quite unexpectedly and in a bad and improper manner. The prevalent unrest was intensified by rumours of the appearance of the famous Sivaji. The Government at Batavia felt that everything could be set right through the discretion of the Commandeur Lobs. He chose the side of the Zamorin, confirmed the treaty of friendship previously concluded with him and ratified the armistice between the two rulers."[17]

"Further agreement and operations of the perpetual alliance and friendship made between the Dutch Chartered

[16] *Batavia Dag Register,* 1676, 27th March.

[17] F. W. Stapel: *Corpus Diplomaticum* Vol. III, Document No. 398, text and introduction page 110—also *Batavia Dag Register,* 1677, pages 310-11, 412 and 1678, pages 84-86.

East India Company in their name by the Hon'ble Lord Jacob Lobs, Supreme Commandeur of the Coast of Malabar, Canara and the factory of Wingurla, on the one side and the Great Zamorin, King of Calicut, on the other side together with an armistice between the said king and the king of Cochin.

"1. The agreement and alliance between each other, made before and established, were by this renewed, confirmed to be maintained, and followed in their lands for all time, and acted on according to the further contracts included in the following clauses.

"2. The five year pact of truce entered into between the King Zamorin and King of Cochin was by this completely permitted.

"3. If the King of Cochin desired a perpetual peace, he shall be admitted into the same.

"4. If the Zamorin came to do any molestation to the Muriyanattu Nambiyar or any of his people, he undertakes to give such satisfaction as the Hon'ble Company according to right and equity shall judge proper; the same shall happen if the Muriyanattu Nambiyar comes to do any molestation to the lands of the Belloaste Nambiyar.

"5. And if undoubtedly the Muriyanattu Nambiyar so far comes to forget his duty as to abandon the King of Cochin and take refuge with the Zamorin, the Zamorin and the Hon'ble Company shall not accept it.

"6. The Zamorin promises that, in time of need, he shall, in addition to general assistance, furnish at their own cost in the town of Cochin, against any European enemy of the Company, 2000 Nayars, properly armed and provided with a well experienced upper head and military leader, who shall remain there till the need is over. Similarly, the help which the Hon'ble Company, in time of need of the

Zamorin, deems it proper, according to circumstances, to bring shall be at the cost of the Zamorin.

"7. All of which points and clauses of peace between the Hon'ble Company and the King Zamorin mentioned above and emphasised, the King Zamorin promises for himself, his princes, his heirs and subjects to observe and cause to be observed. Similarly, in the same manner, on the side of the Dutch in the name of the Hon'ble Company and the whole nation, the Commandeur Jacob Lobs promises to observe and cause to be observed as the protector, surety and ambassador of the King of Cochin. Further, the above mentioned King and the Zamorin promise to each other to fulfil and observe what has been decided and promised in connection with the five years' truce."

Conclusion Eventually, what was threatened became actual, and finally in 1678 the Dutch obtained a victory over the Zamorin. Dutch relations with the Zamorin have thus been aptly summarised by Moens :[18]

"The Company has as a rule had much trouble with the Zamorins, has had from time to time to wage expensive wars with them, and has found them the most unworthy of all the Malabar kings, not to speak of their having sometimes even intrigued with the English, the French and the Portuguese. The cause of these troubles has been chiefly the Cochin kingdom; for between these two kingdoms there was always an irreconcilable hatred, and we were more or less obliged to take the part of Cochin on account of the great interest that the company notoriously has in the continued existence of the Cochin State."

B. CANNANORE

The Colattiri kingdom was the northernmost of the chief kingdoms of Malabar. The kingdom was once in a

[18] Galletti, page 132, para 5.

flourishing condition on account of the exports of the land especially pepper, cardamom and sandalwood—and profitable and extensive trade with several districts in India.[19] Like the Signatti, the Colattiri ruler was compelled by force of arms to make peace and enter into a treaty with the Dutch. The main stipulations of the treaty concluded on the 26th March 1663 with the Raja of Cannanore by M. L. Van Weerden, Governor of Cannanore were the following:[20]

"That there shall be perpetual peace between the Company and the king. That the town and jurisdiction of Cannanore are the lawful property of the Company, that a peaceable trade and communication be forthwith established between the two nations, that the new fannams be declared legal tender, that the labourers will be furnished to the Dutch at the established rates of payment, that no Portuguese, especially priests, will be tolerated in the country, that the Raja and the Governor will, when necessary, assist each other reciprocally, that the Raja will receive half of the profits arising from the sale of passes and such proportion of the revenues etc. as was allotted to him under the Portuguese government etc."

The Treaty Broken On the 30th August, 1663, the Governor-General and Council wrote to Van Goens in Ceylon that the contract made with Cannanore was broken and Van Weerden, residing there, was commanded to make a further contract to strengthen the previous one. Accordingly, on the 11th October 1663, the King of Colattiri declared with his public writing before himself and before all his kings, princes, ragiadoors, Nayars and other subjects of his kingdom that he had made a firm, certain and succinct contract and peace and perpetual alliance with the Dutch

[19] Galletti, page 143.
[20] Mackenzie MSS., page 334 and Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum* Vol. II, Document No. 276.

State in India executed through the wisdom of his beloved nephew, the prince Rammettry, and Lucas Van Weerden, the Dutch Commandeur of the fortress of Cannanore, on the 18th day of the month of Meenon 838 (Malabar style) and the 26th March 1663 (Dutch style).[21] Misunderstandings had arisen about this treaty as a result of which the peace appeared to have been utterly violated. Hence, he had caused it to be carried out by all more throughly and, by the help of God and his good counsel, restored everything. He further declared that the above contract was made of his own will, command, mature counsel and pleasure; accordingly, it was signed by him and the prince, and he agreed that it would be kept unbroken for all time by him and his people then alive and reigning after him. And because the Commandant had represented to him that he had entered into certain contracts of merchandise with Ali Raja (his minister) and might undoubtedly enter into others with him in future, and that he could not be fully assured of the fulfilment of those contracts, he had requested that the king should offer him in such case a helping hand in cases of default of delivery so that the goods might be received in his toll house and given passes, provided the Commandant pays to the merchants the market prices. The king granted his request and commanded all his subjects to act in accordance with the wishes of the Dutch Commandeur.

The Second Treaty What was thus orally agreed was ratified in writing on 21/22 July 1664.[22]

"Commercial treaty made and entered into between the Lord Jacob Hustaert, Extraordinary Councillor of India, Governor and Director of Ceylon and the conquest of the Malabar Coast, in the name and on behalf of the United

[21] Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum* Vol, II, page 257.

[22] Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Document No. 286.

Dutch East India Company, on the one part, and the prince Rammettri, for himself and in the name of the king of Colattiri, on the other side.

"1. Over and above the articles of peace reciprocally entered into and concluded on the 26th March 1663, in the name of the Hon'ble Company with the King Colattiri and the prince Rammettri, and in addition to the renewing and confirming of the same between the 10th and 11th October following, which shall be honestly and faithfully carried out by both sides, His Majesty and His Highness respectively promise to follow and faithfully maintain and make the ragiadoor and all subjects of his kingdom present and future, no one being excepted, follow and faithfully maintain the points and articles written below:

"2. The King and the prince shall not permit any pepper or cardamom to be carried out landward.

"3. They also promise in fact to prevent any pepper or cardamom to be brought to His Majesty's forts for being transported by water without the same being brought by the Hon'ble Company in his kingdom and being shipped by them in the said ports.

"4. They shall also be bound to take care that the Ali Raja shall not buy in His Majesty's kingdom more than 150 candies of pepper and 10 candies of cardamom as he has pledged himself by contract to the Hon'ble Company, which quantity of pepper and cardamom shall be shipped from no other place than Cannanore.

"5. And the King shall take care that all the rest of the pepper produced in his kingdom shall be sold to the Company at a reasonable price without any grain of the same being sold to anybody in the world.

"6. Also the King and the princes shall forcibly prevent any pepper, wild cinnamom or opium being brought

by land or sea to his kingdom by his subjects or strangers from the south or north, and, on being aware of such, they should keep them, and intimate the same to the Commandeur of the fortress at Cannanore, so that action thereon may be taken as he and His Highness may deem proper.

"7. It is well understoood that the Hon'ble Company alone shall have power to bring opium, and in such quantities as they consider good, and the Ali Raja, in accordance with the aforementioned contract, shall not bring more than 6 candies annually, and that, in this way, the same shall not be exported by water from here or brought into this kingdom by land.

"8. His Majesty and His Highness promise to render all necessary help, honour and political assistance to the company's servants sent inland in pursuit of trade and to grant them places of residence so that they may carry on their trade peacefully and without any trouble.

"9. The above mentioned king and the prince bind themselves to observe honestly and faithfully, and to cause to be observed and maintained, the above written articles."

The Treaties Kept Van Rheede, at the end of his period of office, was able to testify that these treaties were faithfully kept.[23]

The Ali Raja of Cannanore The Ali Raja of Cannanore, says Moens,[24] was of Colattiri origin, being the descendant of a Colattiri princess and a rich Arabian Moor. He belonged to one of the foremost and most influential Moorish families. For the good service rendered to Colattiri, he was honoured with the title of Ali Raja. But he did not exercise any kingly power over the other Moors. He was the

[23] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14) Chapter XXX, page 29.

[24] Galletti, page 147.

first person through whom the Company's merchants began the pepper trade in Malabar. He appeared to be very helpful to the Company against the Portuguese. Consequently, a treaty of friendship and trade was made with him as with a free lord. But this was not observed on the ground that it was detrimental to his own welfare which depended wholly on trade by sea, and was therefore opposed to the Company's interest. In course of time and with growing contempt of the Company's power, the Moors and their leaders became very haughty, but were eventually subjugated to the Company and Colattiri. The Dutch were however afraid of the troubles he might cause. Afraid of Dutch cannon shot, he humbled himself and promised to give all reasonable satisfaction. This prince had with him 24 pieces of iron cannon taken from a Dutch ship stranded in the Maldives. As he was always refusing to hand them over to the Company, 2000 rixdollars was offered to him as salvage money so that this might not become an obstacle to peaceful relations with him. It was the deliberate policy of the Dutch in Malabar to be friendly to him as he could be a powerful instrument for confounding the Company's plans of trade in Malabar. On the 11th February 1664, a comprehensive treaty was concluded with him. This treaty limited the quantities of pepper, cardamom and opium to be imported or exported by him in the Colatiri's kingdom. It also prohibited his procuring any pepper or cinnamom by sea or land from the Zamorin's land or the Cochin kingdom.[25] A further treaty was also concluded with him on the 13th March, 1664,[26] explanatory of the previous treaty, because, while the Dutch were faithfully carrying out their obligations, the Ali Raja took all possible measures to evade them.

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25 Mackenzie MSS. page 337, and Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. III, Document No. 280.

26 Mackenzie MSS. page 339 and Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, Document No. 291.

With regard to his relations to the Company, it must be said that he was as unfaithful as all the other Malabar princes and always knew how to put down the smaller pepper supply to one cause or another, but usually he laid the blame on the disturbed state of the country because it was notorious. The real cause, however, was that he secretly sold his produce to others who offered him more than the Company had stipulated for.

CHAPTER XIII

A RESUME OF THE DUTCH POSSESSIONS IN MALABAR IN 1678 AND THE DUTCH SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

The military operations of Van Goens in Malabar and subsequent Dutch transactions in that region had far-reaching consequences. In 1650 the Malabar of the Dutch, as Galletti says, meant only commercial residences or unfortified factories at Cannanore, Kayamkulam and perhaps elsewhere. As already stated in a previous chapter, Malabar after the Dutch conquest meant for them the strong town of Cochin with territory won from the Portuguese or Malabar Princes and fortresses at Cannanore, Chetwa, Cranganore and Quilon.

The following were the possessions and dwellings of the Company in 1678.[1]

1. **Tengapatnam**, a lodge situated on the coast north of Cape Comorin under Travancore, delivered iron, fine coir, gunny packing thread, sail cloth, linen, tanned and untanned leather, parchment, jaggery, sugar as well as sugar candy, free stone, paving stones, besides much other small things and provisions. In charge of it was the assistant Johannes Heydenbergh, 'a quiet and sober man,' who had always given complete satisfaction in his service for which he possessed sufficient ability. Besides him there was for help a Dutch man besides a rope maker of fine bundles.

2. **Quilon**, a town made by the Dutch into a fortress, was supplied with a certain number of servants according to the order of the High Government of India.

[1] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapters LV-LVII, pages 38-40 and Galletti, pages 82-84 and 204-205.

It was governed by the merchant Marcelus Boevius who showed himself a decent and faithful servant as long as he was on the coast. All the southern factories were under him. It was situated in the kingdom of Signatti and enjoyed tolls over the bay and a piece of land round the fort. It had the right of levying certain duties on outgoing and ingoing vessels. According to the treaty of peace made with the Signatty, the Pillai and the Kurup, the Company was bound annually to give them certain presents. There was a letter from Batavia to Van Goens in 1665 that Quilon should be fortified according to the plans made some years ago.[2]

3. **Vrieland,** an island given to the Company by the Raja of Kayamkulam, was protected by a coastal guard put in a watch house placed on high posts. This guard was specially charged with the supervision over the smuggling of pepper. The guards along the coast also did this.

4. **Kayamkulam**, a useful lodge built by the Company, was in Van Rheede's time under the supervision of the assistant Nicholas Burger, also 'a sober and competent person' who had always given satisfaction. The Company annually gave a present to the Raja besides 100 ducats[3] for the cutting down of the wild cinnamon. From this station the Dutch obtained pepper, cinnamon, arecanut, dry cow hides, wood work, lead etc. Misunderstandings caused by the Company's prohibition of the arecanut trade were used by the native princes for disregarding treaties. The offer made by the English to the southern Rajas, specially Kayamkulam, that, if they were given free trade in the land, they would, beside showing many favours including an annual present to the Raja, convey arecanut in their vessels

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[2] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 14th September, page 262.

[3] Ducats, Pistolets and Soverigns were all reckoned at 82 sh. per ounce *vide* note on page 128 of Foster's English Factories, 1668-69. (oxford 1927).

where the Dutch Company had no towns, forts or sovereign authority, and that they would also deposit caution money against losses which might be sustained by others seizing the arecanut, cloves, etc., had great weight with the Rajas.[4]

5. **Cochin**, where the Portuguese had built fort Emmanuel had become the Dutch capital of Malabar. The Dutch reduced the city of Cochin to a very small circuit, but it was made extraordinarily strong. The necessity of keeping the Cochin fort in a proper state of defence was always perceived by the Dutch because that would promote peace.[5] The expenses necessary for the fortification were approved by the Batavia Government.[6] Sufficient progress was made with the fortifications of Cochin in 1665 to justify the hope that, by the end of November, Cochin would be well defended against all possible invaders.[7] By the end of 1665, the fortification of Cochin had reached a dignified posture of defence.[8] And for the defence of Cochin, the fort was supplied in 1665 with 12 iron pieces shooting 16 lbs. Van Rheede gives details of the Cochin fort in his Memoir and the necessity of making it defensible against the French.

6. **Palliport**, a redoubt situated to the north of the island of Vypeen on the Cranganore river, was situated on the Company's own lands and made by the Company of stone, but not completed. It remains uncompleted to this day. It was constructed there to keep the mouth of the river against the enemy, the Zamorin, and also to prevent smuggling. No one was permitted the right of coming into and going out of the same.

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[4] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XXXVII, page 33.

[5] Letter of Grigsby at Purakkad to Surat dated 14th August 1664 in Foster's English Factories 1661–64, page 353 and Batavia Dag Register, 15th November, page 348.

[6] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 14th September, page 261.

[7] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 22nd June, page 144 and 19th July, page 179.

[8] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 29th November.

7. **Cranganore**, at first a town and later a small fort, was situated on the Company's own land in the territories of the Raja of Cranganore. It was made against the Zamorin and was always held to be the key of the Cochin kingdom. It commanded the view of three rivers. In Van Rheede's time, it was under the supervision of the Ensign Andries Sagerman, a quiet and sober man.

8. **Ponnani**, a house or lodge made by the Zamorin, stood close to the sea and the river. It had no other aim than to keep the peace or treaty made with the Zamorin, and without his displeasure the Dutch could not withdraw from that place. It also gave the Dutch an opportunity of knowing better what was going on among European friends and foes. At the time when Van Rheede wrote (1677), the assistant Jacobus Parmentier, 'a quiet and sober youth', was Resident there. He was getting on well with the people.

9. **Cannanore** which was a town with the Portuguese was made by the Company into a new and strong fortress. It was built of stone and had control over a small piece of land situated around the bay where all incoming and outgoing vessels had to take permission for their visit. There ruled as upper head the Under Merchant Daniel Joncktijs who, 'being sober and diligent', had generally given satisfaction in his service. He was a competent and promising man. The land produced cardamom, pepper, arecanut, masts and much other conveniences. The fortress was the outermost territory and possession of the Company in Malabar.

DUTCH ADMINISTRATION

The foregoing narrative shows that, seventy five years after the arrival of the Admiral Steven Van Der Hagen at Calicut in 1603 and fifteen years after the Dutch capture of Cochin i.e. in the year 1678, the Dutch had firmly established themselves in Malabar. Their position was

very strong. The Commandeur of Cochin possessed sovereign jurisdiction in the fort of Cochin and subordinate territories. He was virtually the absolute political and financial superior of the Raja of Cochin. Treaties exclusive of other nations were concluded with all the princes of Malabar. The treaty was enforced without reservation in Cochin. The other princes, though parties to similar treaties, were secretly longing to break away from the Dutch though they could not openly do so. Outwardly, the Dutch were in a position of advantage in their dealings with these kings also. Unfortunately, the seeds of corruption had already begun to be sown among Dutch officials. But the ultimate results of that corruption could not yet be foreseen. The Dutch were able to enjoy their privileged position for another fifty years. Then, with the accession of the famous Martanda Varma of Travancore in 1729, there opened a new period of political ferment and commercial activity in Malabar which boded ill for the continuance of Dutch pretensions, as the subsequent fortunes of that nation in Malabar, which can be studied in a number of available source documents, conclusively demonstrate.

The Dutch administrative arrangements in Malabar during the period covered by this book may now be briefly reviewed.

Administrative Arrangements At the end of our period (1663-78), the Dutch territories in Malabar were governed by a Commandeur i. e. a ruler of lesser rank than a Governor but resembling the governor in the possession of forts with armed forces and in the exercise of some sort of sovereign powers. The Commandeur of Malabar was directly subordinate to the Supreme Government at Batavia. But this was not the form of Government that came into being in Malabar immediately after the Dutch conquest.

The conquered territory was naturally at first under the control of Van Goens the conqueror. The Batavia Diary of 1664 (30th January) records the arrival in Batavia of Van Goens after having handed over the Government of Malabar to Jacob Hustaert, Extraordinary Councillor of India, but subordinate to Ceylon. Van Goens levelled certain charges against Hustaert. The Governor-General in-Council, having considered his written defence, acquitted Hustaert. In January 1665 (Diary of January 7th 1665) the Batavia Government considered a proposal to separate Cochin and the subordinate places in the Malabar coast from Ceylon and constitute them into a separate Government. But they resolved to hold the matter in abeyance until they knew on the return of Van Goens how matters were progressing there. In November 1665 Ysbrant Godsken was sent to Cochin to take up work as Commandeur.[9] The same month the captain Hendrik Van Rheede, described as a person of good experience beloved by the Malabaris, was appointed Head over Quilon, Kayamkulam and Karunagapally to exercise control over the smuggling on that coast.[10] Van Goens thought that the transfer of Godsken to Malabar to replace Coulster was not good as frequent change of personnel in Malabar was not advisable.[11] But that advice does not seem to have been heeded. The Batavia Diary for 1666 (15th July, page 312) records a letter from Ysbrant Godsken at Cochin dated 25th November 1665. In 1666 Van Goens was permitted absolutely to appoint under merchants, lieutenants and ensigns subject to the approval of the Batavia Council.[12] Day says that in 1667 the various factories and possessions in Malabar and on the West Coast including those of Quilon, Kayamkulam and Cannanore were placed under the Cochin command, the

[9] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 15th November, page 347.
[10] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 29th November, page 361.
[11] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 27th November, page 369.
[12] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1666, 23rd August, page 137.

fortress of Cochin becoming the chief seat of authority in Malabar. The English letter from Calicut dated the 9th March 1669 speaks of the recent arrival at Cochin with about 150 soldiers from Ceylon of Captain Hendrik Van Rheede with the title of Commissary over the Malabar coast. The English thought that his principal design was to interfere with the English trade at Darmapatam and Balliapatam.

Frequent Changes Deplored by the Cochin Raja In 1669 Lucas Van Dussen, Commandeur of Cochin, wanted to be relieved of his duties.[13] In 1670 the Raja of Cochin wrote a letter to the Governor-General deploring continual change of commandeurs and expressing his satisfaction at Cochin having been formed into a separate Government which freed him from subjection to the Ceylon government to which alone he could previously write. Now he was in a position to write to Batavia direct. It was in 1670 that Van Goens who had been impressed with the work in various capacities of Van Rheede, first as supernumerary captain at the siege of Cochin, then as captain, later as superintendent of Topasses and as envoy on various missions got him appointed as Commandeur at Cochin.[14] Van Rheede was succeeded in 1677 by Jacob Lobs between whom and the Raja of Cochin various misunderstandings arose as already stated. In July 1678 Marten Huysman, Commandant at Tuticorin, was appointed Commandeur of Malabar on a pay of 150 ducats in place of Jacob Lobs who was allowed to retire.[15] The Batavia Diary of 17th September 1678 contains letters from the Governor-General to the Director Marten Huysman and the Commandeur Jacob Lobs and Council of Malabar. The Commission issued to Marten Huysman authorised him to visit the Malabar

[13] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1669, 28th July, page 374.
[14] Galletti, page 49 Foot Note.
[15] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1678, 13th and 14th July.

Commandeury as Commissaris and at the same time to succeed the Commandeur Lobs as Commandeur. Huysman was also given instructions for his guidance. The Diary for 18th September 1678 says that Gelmer Vosburg who had resided at Cochin for some years as second in command, and had recently been sent to Batavia from Cochin was now sent expressly to Cochin as suitable to verify the charges he had made in May 1678[16] in the Council of India against the Commandeur Jacob Lobs. He was to be heard before Huysman and the delegates and then to return to Batavia. The above mentioned facts make it clear that Dutch governmental organization had taken a definite shape in Malabar by the year 1678.

Administration of Justice Some idea of the way in which justice was administered by the Dutch at this time is seen from an entry in the Batavia Diary for 3rd May 1678. It records that the Governor-General approved the sentence of death passed by the Council of Justice at Batavia against a certain captured slave, Matthys of Malabar, who tried to murder his mistress—first cut off the right hand and then was about to stick her to a pile. The Company exercised powers of life and death over the Christians in the town of Cochin. But this did not extend to the St. Thomas Christians or to the Hindu subjects of the allies or neighbours of the Company who were in friendly alliance with the Company. Persons guilty of misdeed belonging to these communities were handed over to their lords for punishment unless they had their houses and dwellings under the Company's authority and had thus become the Company's subjects; for in that case they were, according to the treaties that each shall punish his subjects, subject to the company's jurisdiction.[17]

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[16] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1678 page 504.

[17] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter XLVIII, page 36.

CHAPTER XIV

DUTCH COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES AND THE RIVALRY OF OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS

I

Conflict with Rival European Nations As the exclusion of rival European nations from the trade of Malabar was a cardinal principle of the Dutch Company, they had to come into conflict with the English and the French. Their treatment of the English at Purakkad has already been dealt with. In the Zamorin's land, the English were able to carry on business despite the opposition of the Dutch. English documents preserved in Foster's English Factories make us realise the fears and anxieties of the English caused by the Dutch successes in Malabar. "The Dutch have declared their resolutions to oust us quite of all the pepper trade upon this coast, saying they must do it or else they must quit the place themselves." The Dutch are charged with offering excessive prices in the hope that the English would not be able to give such prices. Hence the English followed suit. The English felt that if their help could be relied on, the natives would rise against the Dutch.[1]

Mutual Fear of the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese The Batavia Diary for the 4th November 1665 (page 329) gives expression to Dutch fears about possible English and Portuguese attacks on Malabar. Consequently, Van Goens was commanded to keep a good number of war ships in readiness so that Cochin might be guarded at least for a year.

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[1] Foster: English Factories, 1668–69.

English letters from Surat (1665–69) suggest that it was necessary to prevent the Dutch from monopolising the pepper supplies, but it was also thought advisable to anticipate the French who were known to be intending to settle in those parts. Streynsham Master, in his letter to the Surat President (31st December 1668), observed that, before his ship could get away from Calicut, they were saluted by the Dutch from Cannanore with a protest for trading within their limits which, they urged, was a breach of the 11th and 12th articles of the peace. Streynsham Master gave a suitable answer. In the same letter, Master records that the Zamorin, who had obligations to the Dutch not to sell any pepper, or cardamom or *cassia lignum* to any people wearing hats but themselves, was weary of the Dutch yoke, and that he and his people would do anything to be released from the same.

The French in Malabar Francis Caron, born of French extraction in Holland, was at one time employed by the Dutch as chief factor in Japan and second in Batavia.[2] The Batavia Diary of 1668[3] speaks of the presence of Caron on the Malabar Coast. Precautions were taken by the Dutch against a possible assault on Malabar by the French and the Portuguese.[4] To protect the Malabar coast and Ceylon against them, it was thought necessary to send certain ships to those regions. The Diary for 2nd February 1672 (page 29) mentions the arrival in Swally harbour of some ships under La Haye whose purpose it was, with 3000 men, to join the Portuguese against Cochin. A private English ship which arrived at Batavia brought the news that the English on the Coromandel coast had heard from Surat that the French intended with ten ships to depart to the coast of

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[2] From a letter in the Public Record Office C.O. 77, Vol. I, page 53

[3] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1668, 19th April, page 58.

[4] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1671, 3rd November, page 467.

Malabar.[5] A French fleet of 15 or 16 sails passed by Cannanore the same day saluting the fortress with five cannon shots, and forcibly landed at Ayacotta with 100 men. The Dutch guard was driven away. The barricade and the house of the Company were burned, the French King's flag was hoisted on land and then the fleet turned southwards. The efforts made by the Dutch Commandeur to scatter the French fleet did not succeed as the French had the benefit of the wind and were able to move more quickly than the Dutch ships.[6] The French fleet was pursued by Van Goens. Macleod thus speaks of the incident: "The French on the 15th February 1672 sailed up the river to almost a cannon shot of Cranganore, landed some 100 men, drove away the guards from Ayacotta, hoisted the French flag and set the watch house on fire. They, however, left their flag undamaged for almost one hour. After this heroic deed, they hastened and embarked again. The Commandeur of Cranganore protested in writing against this transaction. For a few days, a very courteous correspondence followed. On the 18th, the squadron departed southward. The French maintained that the Zamorin had given them this point. They took two Calicut princes on board who, according to the French, had called in their help against the Dutch. The result was that Caron went inside the walls of Calicut and concluded a treaty with the Zamorin."[7] This episode does not seem to have led to any far-reaching consequences.

II

Dutch Commerce in Malabar (1663–78) "During the fifty years 1660–1710, the business and profits of the English were superior to those of the Dutch and the former

[5] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1672, 15th March.

[6] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1672, 23rd April, page 107. Also 3rd May, page 114.

[7] Macleod: *Eerste-Ontmoetingen van de Franschen en Hollander*.

had fairly surpassed their most active, shrewd, powerful and old competitors in the Indo-European trade" (Bal Krishna). Writing in 1698, the Dutch Governor remarked "it is to be regretted that the Company carried so much sail in the beginning that they are now desirous of striking them in order to avoid being over-set.[8] The desire to possess territorial sovereignty on the Malabar coast and to exercise political supremacy over the Rajas of Malabar and the mistaken policy of carrying on trade at the point of the sword inevitably led to unsatisfactory results.[9] "The Dutch design of engrossing to themselves all the pepper of Deccan and the coast of Malabar was first undertaken in the Council of Batavia by their great general Rijcklof Van Goens. He prosecuted it vigorously at a prodigious charge and with fair hopes of effecting it so long as the war continued; for what he could not engross in a mercantile way, he brought about by arms entering by force into several Rajas' countries and constraining them to agree to his imperious articles, one whereof was certain and undeniable, to wit the exclusion of the English. But the Rajas, too late feeling the slavery they had brought on, themselves resolved to shake off their yoke; for which they wanted not encouragement from us." This was the view expressed by the English merchants of Surat in their letter dated the 26th November 1669. Already, on the 10th January of that year, the English merchants at Calicut had written as follows to Surat: "A letter from a broker at Cochin was forwarded which stated that the King of that place had given assurances of his friendship for the English and was anxious to shake off the yoke of the Dutch whose prestige had been weakened by the successful resistance made by the Zamorin of Calicut." On the 22nd March, the English merchants of Calicut wrote: "We hear by

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[8] Stavorinus: Voyages, Vol. III, page 238.
[9] Visher's Letters: Letter VI.

several persons come hither lately from those parts that all the kings between Cochin and Cape Comorin have been together at Coulam (Quilon) and are now resolved to unite to defend and maintain each other's prerogative against the usurping Hollanders and demonstrating to the world that they are kings, not vassals to the Netherlands East India Company." The English letter from Surat on the 26th November 1669 further continued thus: "For those princes, being sensible of the slavery they were fallen into, have unanimously combined to oppose them and open their ports free to all; several Rajas to the southward of Cochin have invited us, which we have not been very free to accept as well in regard of their too near neighbourhood to the Dutch as of their great distance from Surat, and consequently the trouble and hazard of procuring our goods and the tedious passage of our ships beating up against the winds. But we have chosen rather to close up with the invitation made by the Raja of Cannanore and Balliapatam." With the building of the English fort at Anjengo in 1695, it became very clear that the Dutch claims for commercial monopoly in Malabar could not long remain uncontested, but during the period 1663-78 the Dutch pushed on with their aims, blissfully unaware of their eventual discomfiture.

Nature of Dutch Trade Dutch and English writings are in substantial agreement about the difficulties which the Dutch had in carrying on trade in Malabar according to their plan of maintaining a monopoly for themselves and excluding all competitors. Trade in Malabar became unprofitable. Out of the profits of trade had to be met the cost of garrison, fortifications and unavoidable expenses. The agreement made with princes compelling them to grant commercial monopoly to the Dutch could not be carried out. Dutch insistence on their treaty rights led to many quarrels. The Zamorin became an enemy of the

Company. The trade north of Cochin fell into the hands of Moors and other Europeans. The circumstances of the time did not make the restoration of monopoly by force of arms practicable. Also such action was considered impossible. Eventually, the Dutch gave up their mastery of the sea because the northern coasts were being so much used by inland and foreign merchants who did not ask the Company's passports nor show any mark of honour to the Company. The northern trade having thus decayed, an effort was made to master the southern trade by exerting very rigid control over the small southern chiefs. For this purpose, the coast from Cochin to Quilon was for some time occupied by the military both on land and water. This meant untold expense to the Company. But this also did not succeed and greatly displeased the southern princes who began to view the matter from fresh angles of vision. As the coast began to be guarded and no foreigner could enter by sea, there began to enter and depart by land all the commodities that were being kept out by sea at such cost and peril; and the people began to laugh at the fruitless toil of the Dutch. Seeing that the trade was not prospering either in the north or in the south, the Upper Heads of Malabar were strictly charged to sell the Company's wares at maximum prices and buy the produce of the country at minimum prices and to permit no one but the Hon'ble Company to partake in that trade as the princes had agreed to by written contracts. But all these instructions, the Company's servants wanted to get over.

Practical Difficulties of the Dutch in Carrying on Trade in Malabar At the beginning, the Dutch in Malabar did not know how to hunt after and acquire the pepper which was the foremost product of Malabar and the commodity sought by all. They were prepared to pay only 12 rixdollars for 500 lbs. Prices went up very high north of Cochin if the Company wanted to buy from there. Meanwhile, it was

bought and sent to Mocha, Muscat, Surat and Cambay by the Moors and to Europe by the English and the Portuguese. Undoubtedly, they enjoyed great profits and were able to set the price in India for the Dutch, so that no fixed price for pepper in Malabar was practicable and it was possible to buy more pepper in India than the Dutch could dispose of. Hence the several Governments and Directories of the Dutch in the East were asked to send estimates of their demand for pepper so that the buying could be regulated. If they should send in large quantities Malabar pepper to Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, they should quickly know the change in price level because the great wear and tear for Malabar pepper transported to that region caused prices to go up. It was also to be feared that, should the pepper fall into the hands of the Europeans, they might seize it as prize. Further, the spices, cloves and mace, which gave so much gain to the Company could not by 1677 be sold in Malabar as the price of those spices fell very low. In barter for pepper, the Dutch were hard hit. Previously one pound of those spices could be bartered for forty, fortythree or fortyfive pounds of pepper. As pepper was then bought from Malabar merchants for 12 rixdollars[10] per candy of 500 lbs., this meant that for 50 lbs. of cloves 540 rixdollars was realized. But now the merchants demanded 22 rixdollars per candy of pepper. At the old rate of barter for one candy of 500 lbs. the company should realize 990 rixdollars; but the principle that the price of cloves should go up with that of pepper did not hold good in barter because the demand for spices in Malabar was not high. The Dutch could not afford to take pepper at the higher price unless cloves also fetched a higher price. But the Malabarese did not want cloves at the higher price. So when the price of pepper went up,

[10] Memoir of Van Rheede, Dutch Records No. 14, Chapter LXI, page 41. A Rixdollar = $1\frac{7}{9}$ Rupee. Galletti, page 41.

the Dutch could get only a smaller quantity of pepper, say two-thirds for the same quantity of clóves. Hence the Dutch decided to sell cloves for cash following, as far as possible, the price for the same at Surat. But the earlier policy was to make an effort in Malabar to pay always in merchandise instead of money and to furnish yearly not less than 1000 lasts of pepper, but the price was not to exceed that elsewhere by more than two stivers[11] a pound.[12]

Japanese bar copper was a commodity which the Dutch used to sell profitably in Malabar. But this trade suffered after the English came to Tanoor and began to sell copper at lower prices. The opium trade has also great similarity with that of pepper, because it was brought by water and by land, and so the Dutch were not able to stick to a price but had to follow the market price.

Complaint of the King of Kayamkulam[13] The contract made with the merchants of Kayamkulam in 1674 was kept up. But they always argued that, as they were the Company's merchants, they should be allowed to enjoy the right which the Company had acquired in the Raja's land of hindering free trade by others in pepper and opium. After the conclusion of the contract between the Company and the Raja, they became considerably alienated from each other. The Raja was hurt because his vessels were seized. He besieged the Company's lodge and strictly enjoined on his subjects not to have the least trade with the Company's servants. Opium was allowed to be brought without molestation by others, and pepper was permitted to be sold to such people. The Raja's subjects were not allowed even to

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11 A stiver = $\frac{1}{27}$ Rupee. Galletti, page 41.

12 Instruction from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon and the Memoir of Anthony Paviljioen, Commandeur of Jaffnapetam, English translation, page 5.

13 Memoir of Van Rheede, Dutch Records No. 14, Chapter LXII, pages 42-43.

complete the transactions which had been commenced with the Dutch. Through this confusion, the price of pepper fell very low. When the Company's men wanted to bring to the fleet some planks which lay close to the lodge, the Company's linguist informed them that three of the King's Nayars came and told him that all of the King's subjects, none excepted, were forbidden to go to the Company's lodge, or bring others, or do any work for the Company. Similarly, the King decreed that none of the Company's servants were to go with his subjects to the bazaar. This order was issued not only to drive away the coolies who were busy with the bringing of the planks, but also to see that none performed any service for the Company. This order was so effective that every one ran away and no one appeared before the Dutch, and Nayars stood on the watch to prevent all who came. All the fishermen on the coast were forbidden by the King's order not only to go to the Company's guard, but also to render any service to the Company. So, the five floating planks which lay on the coast with the guards could not be brought on board. The following letter was written on the subject to the Commandeur at Cochin by the King of Kayamkulam in February 1675 :

"The Company's servants have at present attacked both the vessels going out of my land with a passport granted by the Company as also those coming herewards from Porto Novo, taken the passports and goods from the merchants of those ships, very mockingly treated their Commander and taken them prisoners in the month of May. Of those which remained, some were seized and the rest sunk into the sea. On being informed of these wrongs, Your Excellency informed me that the Hon'ble Company was having no knowledge of these things. So we allowed the matter to drop. In the month of September, while my sub-

jects were busy, according to the usual practice, shipping their merchandise to other places with the passport of the Hon'ble Company, the Company's aforenamed servants in the land of the King of Madura have taken away some vessels, robbed them of their merchandise, wrested from the Commanders their passports, and marched off as prisoners many from their occupation. Because I have been thus injured from all sides, I have called all my merchants to me and forbidden them to take in future any merchandise of the Company or to deliver any from my lands to the Company. This prohibition was reasonable, because my traders could not deal with the Hon'ble Company ; on the other hand, though provided with passports granted by the Hon'ble Company for carrying their goods, they were hindered and molested everywhere by the servants of the Company. May Your Excellency be pleased to ponder over these things and provide that everything may be done according to the old usage."

With Whom to Deal Differences of opinion had arisen as to the manner of carrying on the trade. The point at issue was whether the Company should deal with each factory separately and in each with many or a few merchants, with a group or separately, with or without contract or with almost the foremost merchants of all the factories together, but none of these alternatives was found quite satisfactory. Finally, it was thought best to fix a day for all the merchants of South Malabar and to give a contract to him who made the highest bid. Because of the nearness of the various places, it was not thought advisable to have different prices at different places for the same commodity. It was thought best to follow the price of Cochin, the headquarters. Accordingly, it was considered advisable to attract the most powerful and richest, also the most

competent merchants as the Batavia Government was pleased to order. Hence negotiations were begun with the merchants Babba and Poelicarre so that they might invest in the whole trade both north and south of Cochin. It was Van Rheede's view that, if they were not willing, the old merchants Wamana and Perimbala might be made use of.[14]

Letters of Malabar Merchants to Batavia The Batavia Diary of 1678 contains extensive extracts of the lengthy correspondence carried on by these two rival groups of merchants. They shed much light on the commercial questions of the day and are therefore quoted below *in extenso*:

The First Letter of Perimbala to the Governor-General Rijcklof Van Goens The first letter of the merchants Perimbala and Wammana to the Governor-General Rijcklof Van Goens runs as follows:—

"When Van Rheede left this, he left instructions to the lord Commandeur Lobs that he himself should look after all that Babba and Poelicarre of Calicoilan should do. With the coming of Babba and Poelicarre, they have taken away the merchants of Coilan and Calicoilan. The Commandeur has done this by the counsel of Babba and Poelicarre, not to the Company's advantage, but to his own benefit. This, Your Excellency can understand from the natives of Cochin. The trade is so private, the town of Cochin is so ruined that in the land of Cochin no natives could live. Therefore, your help is invoked. Your Excellency ought to know that Babba and the King of Calicoilan are both at war with seven kings, namely the Queen of Travancore, the King of Martinga, the King of Betimmeny, the King of

[14] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapters LIX-LXIV, pages 41-43.

Porca, the King of Tekkenkur, the King of Berkenkur, etc.; against one King are all these kings at variance. In this matter, Babba has done all that he thought fit to do for his own good, and not the Company's. For one king alone, he is at variance with seven kings. Therefore pepper does not now come to Cochin as before. This is not for the good, but for the injury of the Company, and everything is so shut up in this land that nothing can get out. They have driven us out of Calicoilan, saying that they will govern according to what is good in their eyes. If Your Excellency sees to this, there will be no trouble. Dated Cochin 5th January 1678."

Perimbala's Second Letter The situation is further described at length by Perimbala in his second letter:

"First Your Excellency shall be pleased to know that, on the 28th of the month of January, there arrived at Cochin the new Senior Merchant of the above mentioned place whom the Cochin merchants visited. They were told that he did not know them. They represented that he should have called Perimbala and Wamana besides other Cochin merchants that acted with them. We visited the new Senior Merchant another time. We were told that His Excellency's order was brought that we should have the contract. We intimated to His Excellency that we had no contract in five years. His Excellency said that he had already heard that at Batavia, adding that Their Right Worshipfuls had said to His Excellency that we should have the contract. Whereupon we went to the Lord Commandeur Lobs who has charged us that each of us should make a contract which we have also done. The contract requires that we should supply 3000 candies pepper dry and good, 2000 candies to be

sold for merchandise, 500 candies for merchandise in the course of a year. These 3000 candies pepper we shall deliver as 1000 candies in Cochin, 1000 candies in Calicoilan, 500 candies at Coilan, and 500 candies in Porca without fault. We shall take the merchandise in the following quantities and prices: 30 candies opium at 750 rixdollars per candy, 600 chests copper at 32 rixdollars per chest, 30 candies mace and cloves at 750 rixdollars the candy, 20 candies nutmegs at 140 rixdollars the candy, 10 candies silk bariga at 950 rixdollars the candy, 10 candies spiaulter and tin at 105 rixdollars the candy and 10 candies quicksilver and vermilion at 450 rixdollars per candy. And the price for which we should deliver the pepper is 22 rixdollars the candy .....

"Under the above condition have we, Wamana and Perimbala, assisted by four merchants of Cochin, declared in the books, 5 do. of Porca, 3 of Calicoilan, and 4 of Coilan, brought a petition in the presence of the new Senior Merchant that he might bring it to give in council to the Lord Commandeur Lobs, whereby we sought that the contract might be given to us, but such was refused to us by the Commandeur and four other members of council. There remained only the new Senior Merchant who could do anything in the matter, for all the rest were of another mind. Thus the contract was concluded with Babba and Poelicarre and all the other merchants because they desired it. Like the Lord commandeur Van Rheede, the Commandeur Lobs and the Senior Merchant Berckman have acted in this manner as they have concluded the contract with Babba and Poelicarre. Also, Your Excellency and other members of the Government, be pleased to know that these neighbouring princes were not given as usual

their tolls. Wherefore, they are ill disposed to the Company. Besides this, Your Excellency and the other Lord Councillors be pleased to know how Babba and Poelicarre have sent 500 packets cinnamon to Tanor and Ponnani, whereof the fiscal overtook 98 packets and brought into the town. This was burnt without Babba and Poelicarre claiming their possession. Similarly, the pepper of Calicoilan and Cochin was also carried away to Cochin and Tanore by connivance. The officers and other lords of the government have given to Babba and Poelicarre 150 Topass soldiers and 40 Moors in their service at the present time which we have seen with our eyes. What shall happen after this, is known to God . . . .

" Similarly, Your Excellency and the Lord Councillors of India had better known that the King of Porca has written to the Commandeur that his merchants in five years had no contracts, and that year also the same was to happen. Also, Kings of Tekkenkur, Berkenkur and Cochin have written the same, but that is not heeded. The above mentioned Kings complain that their merchants perish of hunger and that they do not receive the tolls from the merchandise. Specially has the King of Cranganore written to the Commandeur, Senior Merchants, etc. that, of the contract which Babba and Poelicarre have made this year amounting to 3000 candies pepper, during the one year and two months of the existence of the contract, not more than 1300 candies of pepper has been put in. To all this, the Lord Commandeur Lobs has not answered nor asked where the pepper of this coast is carried to. Cochin 23rd February 1678."

The Merchant's Third Letter Further recrimination against the Dutch authorities of Malabar and their rival

merchants is contained in the third letter of Wamana and Perimbala. The third letter runs as follows:—

"Your Excellency had better known that we have written now for five years successively to the Government of Batavia regarding the Coast of Malabar without any good having come to the Coast of Malabar. During the five years of the rule of Van Rheede, we have had no contracts. To others, the Jews, Moors, Malabars and Kanarese, the town was free, but to us alone was the entrance to the town forbidden. Also we could not get a contract, but Babba and Poelicarre were taken. These two had all the contracts of the Company. The Lord Commandeur Lobs rules according to the counsel that Van Rheede had given him. All the Company's merchandise remains, and, according to the mind of Babba and Poelicarre, is much gone down in price, to great loss. So also the pepper and the other merchandise. With the coming of the new Senior Merchant on the 28th January 1678, we were summoned to the town, probably at Your Excellency's instance, when we with our company went to the town to visit the new Senior Merchant who made known to us that his orders were to conclude a contract with us; we also, with the above said merchant several times, have agreed that we shall deliver 3000 candies pepper at 22 rixdollars of 24 fanams and 150 lasts in the end of April and the rest against the last day of January, 150 candies at Cochin, 150 do. at Coilan, and at Calicoilan and Porca another 1500 candies pepper. We also agreed to take from them 2000 candies merchandise which was to be paid immediately in gold and to the rest with 3,000 candies pepper—altogether 5,000 candies of merchandise consisting of nutmegs, mace, cloves, copper, lead, tin, spiaulter, silk, quicksilver,

vermilion, camphor, and all other mentioned in the contract. By this, the Company stands to gain 10,000 rixdollars. But, in spite of this, they did not give us the contract, but gave it to Babba and Poelicarre. Your Excellency could therefore well calculate what loss the Hon'ble Company has thereby sustained. This year 1678, the whole contract is again given to Babba and Poelicarre. The new Senior Merchant alone could not help us. But His Excellency has promised to give us the contract for 1679, we having promised to deliver to the Company 800 lasts of pepper. It is necessary that we, through Your Excellency's favour, be helped to a contract with A Hon'ble Company, and Babba and Poelicarre driven out of the land of Cochin, so that we might not be hindered in the Contract which we have promised to make to the Company. Your Excellency, be pleased to note that we have done great service for the Hon'ble Company. Cochin 11th April, 1678. Your Excellency's slaves and servants, Perimbala and Wamana.

"*P.S.*—With God's help and that of the Company, we shall, with the beginning of 1679, accept the contract when Your Excellency shall have the profit of the last three years; from this Your Excellency will also perceive our labour, and we shall do our best for the Company. We shall raise the prices for the Company's goods and shall deliver on this coast as much pepper as never before was collected. Babba and Poelicarre have 100 Topass soldiers to watch along the coast of Calicoilan, Coilan and Porca, carrying away all the pepper to Calicut, Tanoor and Ponnani, the guard of the Company being of little importance, he stopping them with his gifts every month. It is also the same with the cinnamon. Besides that, the Com-

pany, all these years, has not got pepper abundantly. All their merchandise is unsold. At present, there is a shortage; in Cochin, before the coming of Babba and Poelicarre, nothing was heard of more than 100 packets of cinnamon which should be taken to Tanore. Babba and Poelicarre, with their gifts, have stopped this being sent so that they do not say anything. Your Excellency will see that it is a good work we are obliged to put up for the good of the Company and in accordance with the instructions you have received from the Company.

The Fourth Letter In their fourth and last letter, the merchants Wamana and Perimbala deplored their having received no reply to the letters they sent to the Governor-General during the previous four or five years and proceeded to say:

"That the profit of this coast consists in buying up and engrossing pepper and in the sale of merchandise, is sufficiently known to Your Excellency. These are the only profits that befall here. We have declared that to Your Excellency and the Senior Merchant Vosburg, also of what is taken to Cochin and how the merchandise of the Hon'ble Company is bought and sold. Your Excellency could see how, with the coming of the new Senior Merchant which happened on the 28th January 1678, the Company's merchandise is bought and sold, also what is given and what is taken, also what the Hon'ble Company can gain on it is very little, differing much from the previous state of affairs.

"In Calicut and Porca, the Hon'ble Company cannot make itself master of 100 lasts of pepper. Similarly, also in Tanore as is fully known to Your Excellency. The truth is that, on the coast of Malabar, Coilan,

Calicoilan, Porca and other places, not more than 400 lasts can be obtained for the Company, the English carrying from their 500 last's; out of all this Your Excellency can perceive the doings of these two Brahmins, Babba and Poelicarre, without anyone saying of what they do, for they have the chief and other Councillors great and small on their side because of the presents they give them. Your Excellency can well understand where this has its origin. All this came through the Lord Commandeur Van Rheede. All that he has done, the Lord Commandeur Lobs now repeats. The profit which existed before, without considerable difference in the purchase, is now altogether lost for the Hon'ble Company and is gain for them. The Lord Commandeur rules according to the counsel of Berckman, and all those who are of his faction, great or small, have their blue socks full, subordinate merchants of the factories inclusive. It is now five years that we, by the counsel and order of the Lord Commandeur Van Rheede followed by the Commandeur Lobs, could not come within the town. In this present year of 1678 the 28th January, with the coming of the new Senior Merchant, we first came again into the town, not knowing whether such is happened by the order of His Excellency brought from My Lord the Admiral. We were called to make the contract with the Company, but when we offered to deliver 3000 candies pepper, they would not admit us to the contract, but the contract was given by the Lord Commandeur Lobs, on the counsel of Berckman, to others, though we offered to deliver the pepper at 22 rixdollars of 24 fanams the candy, but in the coming year of 1679 has the new Senior Merchant promised by his word that we should have the contract. We promised to deliver 800 lasts, making 4000 candies of

pepper. We also request Your Excellency to offer us a helping hand from Batavia, with order to Cochin to permit us what is for the good and advantage of the Company whom we shall abandon only next to God. Whereas these two Brahmins, Babba and Poelicarre, are now forbidden the lands of Cochin by Your Excellency's orders, it is no longer the injury of the Company to prevent the conclusion of their contracts. At the time of the Lord Commandeur Van Rheede, about 78 candies bad pepper were found. How it remained hidden could not be understood. But I have intimated this to Your Excellency because it appears to me that they have profited by it. With our coming in the town in this year 1678, have we made for the Hon'ble Company more than 10000 rix-dollars benefit on the basis of the contract that Babba and Poelicare have this year made before that date.

Cochin, the 11th April, 1678, your slaves named Perimbala and Wamana.

P.S.—With God's help and that of the Company shall we, with the beginning of the year 1679, accept the contract when Your Excellency could see the difference of the gains of the last five years from those of the present and therefrom measure whether our labour does not extend to the benefit of the Hon'ble Company. When the books of the same are examined and we see the good order that has come in 1678, we could certainly plead that we should be admitted to the contract in 1679. By the prices we fix for opium and other spices, the benefits that we bring to the Company will become evident. We shall deliver as much pepper as could be secured on the coast of Cochin. The cinnamon of Calicoilan and Cochin is conveyed northwards to Calicut, Ponnani and Tanor of

which more than 100 packets were overtaken and brought into the town. No duties were paid on it. Babba has 100 Topasses in his service, whom he pays and whom he feeds, guarding along the coast from Cochin to Porca and Calicoilan. But the guards of the Company are of little importance, and by his gifts their mouths are stopped. Be pleased to make all this known to the Hon'ble Council. For in case this is done, it is for the good of the Company. If not, the whole Company goes to ruin. Hon'ble Admiral, Your Excellency knows that we, up to now, have written many letters to Your Excellency without already receiving any order so that we do not know how to write anything more, but shall wait till November to see whether any good news will come concerning us and the trade of the Company. And if this does not come, we shall take our rest. By Your Excellency's order, 431 rix-dollars worth of pepper has been delivered which the factor Fredrick de Costa took with him. He is dead, and I have been paid nothing for the pepper. I request an order about the same. If the above account of the Company is not Your Excellency's private right, then let the Company pay for the same 48 candies. I write this for an order to the new Senior Merchant."

Letter of Poelicarre Naick and Babba Patara to the Governor General The letters of Perimbala and Wamana to Batavia at last proved effective and they succeeded in securing a contract. This naturally created resentment in the minds of Poelicarre and Babba who were thus ousted from their privileged position. This changed situation called forth a vigorous protest from them, and the letter in which they gave vent to their grievances is quoted below as it gives their point of view and also throws fresh light on the commercial transactions of the Company and the economic situation in Malabar.

"We have always with the Hon'ble Company, now for many years consecutively, concluded contracts without causing any inconvenience to Your Excellency. The Major and Commandeur Van Rheede called us to come here from Calicoilan and there made us enter into contracts with the Company in the best way for the benefit and not the destruction of the Company. We have always observed it in such form and that with love, zeal and affection to the benefit of the Hon'ble Company. Besides that, when the Commandeur Van Rheede was about to depart to Batavia, we also took our departure to go to our dwelling, but the said Lord hindered us saying that as his Honour kept us in good peace, the Lord Commandeur Jacob Lobs, without the least difference, had also accepted us so without failing us in the least, and that His Honour now, after departure to Batavia, would intimate to Your Excellency our zeal to and in the service of the Hon'ble Company which some enemies in the Kingdom of Cochin have already roused in us. It came to our knowledge that some merchants had gathered together a great quantity of cinnamon for the English when we immediately tried to hinder them doing the same, defraying the charges of hiring soldiers and other people from our purse. We then fetched the cinnamon and gave it to the Company. Because we rendered such service to the Company, we have made many enemies.

"The Moors of Parou also secured much pepper and brought for return much opium into the land besides other merchandise which they brought and of which Your Excellency shall have as perfect knowledge as we could give Your Excellency. We have also engaged soldiers at our cost to pursue the Moors and have

secured some pepper in our hands and hindered the Moors from carrying on their pepper. The Moors, seeing that we have thus hindered them, are thus greatly disturbed because of us and the heads of the same, taking counsel with those of Cochin Cima, gathered together and have come to attack us. Things have happened in such manner as they wish, which event by this we make known to you since we are at present the servants of the Company.

"The Lord Commandeur has announced to us that Your Excellency has not approved the contracts of pepper made by us last year, and since we always labour to give Your Excellency satisfaction, we have announced to the Lord Commandeur that, in case the above contract does not please Your Excellency, we should enlarge the same immediately and, seeing Your Excellency was so disposed, we could not make any one do anything against it. We are lamenting our misfortune because we have always laboured with a good will in the service of the Hon'ble Company. At this time, the Commandeur gave a paper wherein it is said that the merchants of the Malabar coast should gather together to participate in the contract with the Hon'ble Company, whereby they are all gathered and will give Your Excellency perfect knowledge of the price of the pepper and other merchandise given and taken by them.

"But Perimbala, to do us harm and to destroy the contract of the Hon'ble Company, has lowered the price of the pepper and enhanced those of the merchandise, but we, seeing that he did so for annihilating the merchandise and the contract, have concluded the contract with the Company at the peril of our losing the money. We, trusting the Company, have sent our money to

the Malabar lands to pay for pepper without using the same for the purchase of other merchandise. The capital that was in the hands of the Malabar merchants, we have deferred to Your Excellency's pleasure. Because we trusted in the Company, we have despatched and invested that money; and also, in the confidence that we should be the merchants of the Company, have we done this not thinking that, because of the service we did to the Company, such misfortune should overcome us. The quantity of Bengalese goods requested by us last year is not unknown to you. All that has been brought from Bengal this year is below our requirements. Only some taffetas sortered with red border are estimated most among the Malabaris and have the highest price compared with that of the other taffetas sold among one another. Now have they of that sort with red borders, given to Perimbala a quantity of four or five thousand rixdollars. Therefore the other taffetas remain idle. In this kingdom of Cochin, resistance or hindering of trade has not been heard of before except after the coming of Perimbala. Your Excellency has more thorough knowledge on that matter than we could give you. And now that he (Perimbala) is come into a contract with the Company, this leads more to the loss of the Company's merchandise and not to the increase of the contract. This we make known to Your Excellency that Your Excellency may know that the contract of the Company is not kept and we know that there will be losses on the merchandise. So we have not enlarged the contract of the Company although it involved the peril of our losing money. We now await Your Excellency's last will, being ready to fulfil promptly Your Excellency's desire.

"The secrets of the Hon'ble Company were well kept so that nobody could understand of it, but now they

are spread throughout the whole of the kingdom of Malabar. There were no secrets which could be made known in any other way. The credit of the Company daily goes down. We who have always lived under the shadow of the Company and are very sensitive to it make the same known to you that you may know the truth since the Company is much desirous of preserving peace in the Cochin Kingdom even at the risk of assault and battery as has always been the case. There shall come down nothing to be dealt with the Hon'ble Company as the Company is so situated. The cause of all this is Perimbala, for his resistance has always been such. We are afraid that if matters are allowed to go on in this way the Company will have to wind up its affairs here. When all the Malabar merchants were gathered together in the house of the Commandeur, we have told them in the presence of His Honour that, if any of them was inclined to enhance the contract of the company, they should do so and they would be given what they desired and that we should give them half or quarter of the contract. Those who were of opinion that the contract of the Company should be enhanced should do so. Could you not out of all this observe our hearty affection, how high we regard the benefits of the Company? We did not have any or wish to have any who will break the contract of the Company. Through our love to the Company, we have always regarded such as enemies to the Company whereby we always find opportunity to fight for the welfare of the Company.

"The King of Cochin is a merchant and always makes attempts to break the contracts of the Hon'ble Company which I make known to Your Excellency.

The contract of the Kanarese rice is already commenced, and it is by us that the Company is furnished with an unfailing supply of that grain which Your Excellency must know. Because of the trust we have in the Company, we have invested on pepper all our money except what we have meant for other merchandise and that which is in the hands of the Malabar Merchants. Not to doubt our zeal. because Perimbala has taken the contract of the Company, we shall collect again the money which is among the merchants. Also the merchants will not pay other than in pepper the money invested in pepper. Then Perimbala will say that we collected pepper for the Moors and delivered the same to them. To do this against the Company we could not imagine, for we have always showed faithfulness to the Company and kept as sacred that contract. But because we understood that the Company's contract was about to run out and we feared that Perimbala would throw on our neck the falsehood that we contracted with the Company, we have turned again to the contract to the Company not willing to abandon it; wherefore, we await your orders. Your Excellency need not be pleased to order prompt payment to us although it might mean injury and loss of money to us. As we did not want to earn a name as false servants of the Company, we have not thought that we should be immediately paid. The Company would do so to us. We who are in the water should drink, the reason of our promise being to save our lives rather than anything else. Such is our contract and not of our free will. The price of the pepper now in the bazaar is 30 rixdollars. We are now awaiting Your Excellency's last orders, and if Your Excellency sends no orders to hinder the King of Porca in what he does, it shall not go well with the contract of the Company. The Kanarese rice contract has for long

time brought great loss to the Hon'ble Company. Therefore, we have sent there this year people to ascertain the truth of this and how things are being done there. We have found that, to the loss of the Company, great thievery is being played there. Rice costs there for a last only 16 or 17 rixdollars and is sold there at that price to all the nations who go there to buy. Thus the Moors, English and Portuguese, all alike, buy for the above price. How many thousand lasts they want, they can immediately secure and that at the above mentioned price; but for the Hon'ble Company they were bought at 25 or 26 rixdollars the last. This deceit has been practised by the factor and the interpreter who is called Mangarsey. These two have agreed together to steal the money of the Company. To us it is as clear as the sun. As faithful servants of the Company, we make this known to Your Excellency, etc.

Cochin, (Sd.) PULICAR NAIQUE &
9th April, 1678. BABA PATARA

Financial Arrangements Tolls and customs duties levied on outgoing and incoming vessels were divided between the Dutch and the Cochin Raja. This was in keeping with the practice of the Portuguese, and, in the treaty concluded between the Company and the Raja at the time of his restoration, the Raja was permitted to enjoy and collect as he formerly used to. But it was seen that, out of consideration for the interests of the Portuguese as well as of the Raja, there was great disparity between the rates at which tolls were collected from different nations as could for example be seen from the following list. On imports the Moors paid 7 per cent to the King and 3 per cent to the Company. Banyans paid 5 per cent to the King and 3 per cent to the Company, and the Canarins paid 5 per

cent to the King and 3 per cent to the Company; on exports Moors, Banyans and Canarins paid 4 per cent to the King and 2 per cent to the Company. Besides this difference, there were several goods which paid no tolls. Van Rheede felt that, in regard to these, the contract freely made with King should bind the Company. While he did not want any change to the benefit of the Company, he felt that the Company should be free, as the Company's interests permitted, to impose taxes on commodities which, according to the old usage, were being admitted free of duty. Also the other taxes should be so regulated without discrimination between nations and be brought to a uniform level of 3 per cent of which the Raja shall have his part since, by contracts, they could not be further increased. All the above mentioned tolls were received to the Kings account by the Company's servants in the presence of the King's writer and adjusted to the debts which the King owed to the Company. Van Rheede felt that, if need arose, the basis of the arrangement should be changed when the voyages and trade increased as the receipts under the tolls had become very small.[15]

The income from the land and the leases arose from some islands and gardens taken form the Portuguese by conquest and leased for the Company's benefit as will be indicated in the section on Topasses.[16] These lands had been given to the lascars to live in. The lease of the liquor and tobacco also gave much gain.

Coinage The minting of the Cochin fannams belonged to the Cochin Raja, but, for many good reasons, was performed in the town of Cochin under the Company's supervision because the Raja was governing through very

[15] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapters XLIX & L, pages 36 & 37.

[16] Chapter XVII *infra* section on Topass Christians.

inconsiderable and profit-seeking men who would spoil the currency both by using bad metal and also immoderately issuing fannams. The Raja was always speaking of the loss he thus endured, and was wanting the coinage again to be under his control. Though the Raja might suffer losses, it was felt necessary to limit the quantity of the currency to prevent depreciation.[17]

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17 Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapter LIII, Pages 37 & 38.

CHAPTER XV

MALABAR POLITY AS DESCRIBED BY THE DUTCH[1]

The Evil of Small States Copious information about the way in which Malabar was governed is available in the Memoirs of the Dutch Commandeurs of Malabar, especially in that of Van Rheede. The Dutch military successes were due to the presence of a large number of small kingdoms with slender resources, entirely incapable of holding their own against a European fleet. Linschoten says that the Indian polity of his day was responsible for the existence and continuance of slavery. In every village or town, he notes, there was a separate king or ruler of the people. Each kingdom differed from the other in law, speech and manners. Hence most of them were involved in mutual wars. Prisoners were taken on both sides, and these were kept as slaves and sold like beasts. Even whole families came to offer themselves as slaves, and the Portuguese made a living by buying and selling them.

Nature of Malabar Polity Students of Political Science would be at a loss to indicate the exact name for the kind of polity which obtained in Malabar. Van Rheede thought that it would be inaccurate to speak of the Malabar system of government as belonging to any of the three recognised types-monarchy, republic or democracy. Neither the king, nor the nobility, nor the multitude, exhibited the highest power, but all together, though with the unique distinction,

[1] This account is based on Van Rheede's Memoir, Chapters VIII-XI, pages 10 to 17.

that order and stable government could be seen in the arrangements. External observers could not but marvel that men with such ability were able to get on together quite amicably. This was the result of their own arrangements. Sometimes, mutual agreements by way of general consent acquired legal validity; sometimes, chance and lapse of time led to a custom. But none of these causes could account for its continued existence.

Traditional Origin of Malabar Polity Every important Malabar kingdom had its own version of the origin of the existing Malabar polity. Van Rheede's version, which was probably the one current in Cochin, and contains statements which would be challenged by Travancore, runs as follows: "Cheraman Perumal, who was considered to be a lord and king over all the lands between Kayalpatam and Canara, had everywhere made evident excellent tokens of wisdom and knowledge. After he had ruled over this great stretch of land and such untold men and subjects with tranquillity and prosperity, he voluntarily relinquished that responsibility at the height of prosperity, and made a gift of his lands so that his subjects might continually think of him. Thinking that in his life-time there was found no man who had the capacity to bear so great an authority, and fearing that the kingdom lay in danger of being torn into pieces through strifes, contentions and devastation by wars, he divided his kingdom, authority and commission among his friends, kinsmen and faithful servants. He provided them with laws and privileges which they all unitedly accepted and solemnly swore to honour. He allowed them to rule the land in his presence for some time and thus get accustomed to the exercise of authority. After this, concludes Van Rheede, he relieved himself of all power and disappeared on a pilgrimage. Van Rheede observes that the whole work was arranged by a single hand with great consideration,

and, because he wished to bind every one to his memory, he had everywhere taken care that men should be aware of his goodness and love and they should have no reason to attempt a change. Cheraman Perumal wished to protect the interests of the small lords and insisted on the maintenance of the distinction between *Chodelikur* and *Panniyerkur*, the respective houses of Cochin and Calicut, as an apple of discord to keep up their integrity and martial spirit. Because the distribution of this great land was a voluntary gift, continues Van Rheede, it was received with great thankfulness, not by princes or kings, but by common servants and subjects who thereby became princes. This arrangement naturally caused displeasure to the lawful kinsmen and natural children of the above-said Emperor of Malabar as their expectations were cut short by their kinsman's generosity in view of the fact that, according to the law of inheritance, all the great principalities should have been left to them. It is to be noted that, because the kingdom of Cochin was left to his heirs who were his sister's sons and the kingdom of Calicut was given to his own descendants who could not, according to local usage, inherit his kingdom. Cheraman Perumal foresaw that these two would not let each other alone and enjoy freedom. Consequently, he divided the entire people of Malabar, we are told, into two equal parts naming one *Chodelikur* and the other *Panniyerkur.* The first were obliged, under threat of loss of their rights, to help the king of Cochin against the Zamorin to whom the other half was attached under the name of *Panniyerkur.* Van Rheede says that it was usual for the two groups to manifest to each other the same bitterness as existed between the Gwelphs and Ghibellines.

Matrilineal Succession and Marital Arrangements for Royalty The peculiar feature of kingship in Malabar was that, except in the case of Brahminical dynasties, inheritance

was through the female line. A king was succeeded by his sister's son. Brahmin kings were succeeded by their sons like their European confreres. The princesses, says Van Rheede, did not marry and were not bound by marital restrictions, but chose young partners of high birth like the Brahmins or Nambudiris. It was out of such connections that the lawful heirs were born in the various Malabar kingdoms. The male members of royal families did not marry nor were their children considered legitimate. The latter had always the status of their mother. Van Rheede, who, of course, is partial to the Cochin family, says that princes of Cochin had initial informal marital connections with the princesses of Vatakkumkur, Tekkenkur and even Travancore. Similarly, the Rajas of Cranganore and Bellanga were fathers of the princes born in the Zamorin's family.

Adoptions and Dutch Opposition to the Same If it so happened that, in any princely house which must always have a man as head, there were no children or only minor children and sons who, on account of their youth, were incompetent to rule, then heirs and ruling kings were adopted, being chosen by the Princesses' men with the consent of the princes and landlords. Kingship was preserved in this manner, the adopted ones being regarded as if they belonged to the family by blood relationship; it was the device which the Malabarees adopted to perpetuate succession. It was also oftentimes the sagacious device of princes for joining together and fusing into one, separate provinces, principalities and princedoms. Naturally it became the leading cause of inland wars and tumults. Van Rheede evinced great anxiety to prevent, as far as possible, such absorptions lest the divided principalities unite and become too mighty for the Dutch.

Scope for Union; Succession by Seniority Thus, according to tradition recorded by Van Rheede, the country was

in the beginning divided so that, regardless of the fact that each exercised a separate jurisdiction, they could, however, be united and allied with each other. In fact, this practice was expressly introduced by Cheraman Perumal, the original distributor. For example, says Van Rheede, the princedom of Travancore is alleged to have been given by Cheraman Perumal to five sisters who were alive in his lifetime. Each of these sisters is said to have obtained a princedom for her and her descendants on condition that, if there were no heirs, the same should be sought out of the houses of the other sisters. Over these five regions, the eldest had the title of *Molpa* (Mooppu?) or head to whom the younger princes were obliged to show the highest honour and offer help in case of war. And because the entire southern kingdom was governed not by women but by men so always the eldest son of the eldest sister came to the crown. But, if in other houses men older in years were found, they came to the highest authority so that the oldest in years among these five princedoms must always be the king of Travancore. This order is claimed by Van Rheede to have been followed among all the Malabaree kings, princes and landlords up to his days. But the lapse of time and the course of circumstances frequently brought with them a scorn for its maintenance, especially when it came into conflict with the importance they then possessed. Many tried to change that custom, thereby causing great tumults and inland wars. Such cases frequently came to the notice of Van Rheede, and he felt it necessary to settle the differences, on the basis of ancient usage, so that the interests of the Dutch Company were always safeguarded.

Precedence in the Royal Family The royal dynasty generally consisted of five or six persons, also sometimes of three persons. These were usually greeted by the subjects with kingly honour; they were also spoken of with

the name of kings, only with the difference of number and order of precedence which usually was arranged according to age, so that the oldest of all was properly called the king and the others called second, third or fourth prince and so on. These princes went up step by step when the places fell vacant by death. No example was known of the younger superseding the older. The vacant places of the princes were again filled from dynasties entitled thereto, as said above. The adoption was not to the place vacated by death but to the lowest place, all the others climbing up a step. If it happened otherwise, it must be for particular reasons which must be agreed to by all, and that with the only object of securing some advantage to the kingdom, as when the king of Cochin took the Rajiam of Moutan whose ruler was much older and must therefore have also been ruler of Cochin. Thereby, the Cochin rulers obtained the whole land from Moutan or Karapuram to Cochin with freedom to pass it on to their successors. Similarly, the Rajia (Kingdom) of Cranganore was attached to Cochin as an inheritance.

King's Power not Absolute Although the kings exercised great authority over their subjects, their power was not unlimited. What was spoken of as the laws of Cheraman Perumal had always to be looked upon as the basis of their conduct. They were not free to swerve from recognised principles of the customary law. Again, while on small matters the wishes of subjects were ignored, their will on matters which vitally touched them usually prevailed. Thus, the kings could not act in defiance of people's wishes and interests. Kings, for example, could not stop the export of pepper although they might make such promises to European traders; nor could they compel the people to sell pepper at a loss. In the contracts made with the King of Tekkenkur dated 16th June, 1664, it was distinctly

laid down that pepper must be paid for at such prices and with such commodities and specie, silver or gold, as the bazaar from time to time demanded, and as could be agreed upon with ordinary merchants.

Actual Powers of the King The Rajas or Kings had the highest authority. They sealed and signed all gifts, agreements and letters. The princes had not the power to do this. This signature was in each kingdom at all times the same figure, irrespective of what person the king was so that men could gather from the letters only in what kingdom they had been signed, not which king signed them. The king also had the power to summon the vassals or Nayars, landlords and allies to counsel or war, to impose customs, pronounce judgements and have them carried out, to appoint servants and governors, in short all that should be done by a king. Generally, the king's authority was, in practice, very limited as he had no option to do otherwise than in accordance with the advice of his counsellors. However, it must especially be remarked that the government did not appear to be other than monarchy, because of the great honour the subjects showed to the king, honour like that shown by slaves rather than by free people.

King's Obligations Before the king could be crowned or admitted to his office, he had to make a solemn oath to preserve the privileges of the noblemen; he would then receive their homage. It must be added that the promises were made on either side in the presence of spiritual priests and to the accompaniment of religious offerings. These made the promises more solemn and binding, and the agreement was made more enduring.

Position of the Princes The princes or heirs appeared to be enjoying their position either through right of birth

or choice of adoption, and exercised no authority; they had to be contented with their daily maintenance without troubling themselves with the government unless they were otherwise made use of officially because of their exceptional knowledge and experience. However, the Elaya Raja or heir apparent, enjoyed great importance, even the power to hinder what the king did or undertook to do against the welfare of the land; he never might see the king without a gun in the hand, nor could he sit down or be clothed with the upper cloth in the king's presence. This was the custom throughout Malabar. But when the princes of the house and elders were somewhere else in the kingdom, on the frontiers or with armies, they were respected like the king himself whose deputies they were. It also happened that the princes possessed their own authority and lands which they had as their own before they succeeded or were adopted as princes. Rama Varma possessed the lands of Cranganore because he was king there, and many other princes continued retaining their particular authority and principality. They enjoyed more respect because they were provided with their own forces and means.

Position of Princesses and Adoption Problems The princesses or queens had no authority over the kingdom, but were held in great respect and lived on landed estates which were expressly assigned for their maintenance. This was the case so long as there remained men in the government; but when there was a lack of males, adoption of heirs was made by them in the first place from persons with claims for that distinction. These would succeed to the crown with the consent of the princes and landlords. It often happened that the princesses kept in their hands the reins of government if they had hope that any young princess should yet bear children as in Signatty which for a long time had been ruled by princesses. But much

strife usually arose over the appointment and choice of heirs. The disunion was caused mostly by the activities of those who were eligible to be chosen or who desired to be selected. He who was able to hold on was in possession. Sometimes, those who were entitled to be selected were set aside because they were hated or disliked, and owing to personal affection or other reasons, people with no rights would be chosen. If such action was prevented by the people or by the rightful claimants, there were sometimes no rulers over the lands. In such cases, the princes and landlords themselves directly interfered in the elections which seldom passed peacefully. This strife arose not only in connection with the choice of men as kings, but also of princesses whose children were to be rulers.

Nature of Government The general government of the land was not very exacting. Different regions had different kinds of government. The dominion of the king extended over princes, sometimes styled allies, who exercised in their own lands, power and authority as great as that of the king over his own lands. Under Cochin, for instance, there were the Kings or Rajas of Porca, Vatakkumkur, Mangatty (Alangad) and Parur besides others to the north of Cranganore. These princes were bound to come on the summons of the Cochin Raja to give advice on matters of great weight which might concern the king alone in particular or any neighbouring prince. They were also requested and commanded to defend the kingdom on land or water. They were expected to go to the frontiers with their military forces for attack as well as defence. Their obligations in this respect were defined by treaties. They might even fight against the Cochin Raja without losing their privileges; and the only thing they had to fear was defeat in action. On the other hand, the king had to go to their rescue even though he could not call them their

subjects. This was the case in Cochin as well as in other principalities.

Instruments for Exercising Royal Power The authority over the subjects was exercised through Nayars and foreigners.

The former were, for the most part, in chief authority. These conducted themselves like margraves or free lords. According to the obligations of the original institution or subsequently by the possession of feudal estates, they were not bound to serve the king otherwise than by participation in the wars at the king's cost. For the rest, they were the full lords and masters of their own lands and peoples. Nevertheless, they were bound to get fresh *sannads* as many times as the holdings were transmitted by death. When there was lack of heirs, they had power to choose or adopt any one without the king's pleasure and permission. Further the royal permission was often withheld so that such lands reverted to the crown or were given to others in recognition of some services to the king. Such lords were called by different names, e.g. Koil, Nambeddi, Nambiyar, Kaimal, Panikkar, Elladom, Kurup, Potti, Pillay and several other titles. These names were indicative of different shades of dominion, race, power, or honour. Besides the above-mentioned Nayars serving under their own chieftains, there were other Nayars who were directly under the king or served as his bodyguards. These people were spread all over the land, and they had no other heads than those appointed by the king when they were with him. They acknowledged no one except such chiefs as were appointed by the king. These Nayars alone constituted the forces of the king although, compared with the other great communities, they were a small number; they employed themselves in the king's service, whereas the others had always with them some of their own lords

whose commands they followed though the king might order otherwise when he felt the need for it.

Foreigners The foreigners occupied streets in the villages and markets. They were subject to the heads of their own nationality, but they were governed by the king's Inspectors and Sheriffs if those villages were not situated in the domains of any of the aforementioned free lords. Most of these people were employed in agriculture or trade. Therefore, the Inspectors had little other work to do than to settle their differences, and exercise justice and collect tolls and tributes.

How Hereditary Lands were Acquired and Governed The hereditary lands or dominions owed their origin either to violence or inheritance. Owing to lack of their own princes and lords, these had to place themselves under powerful foreign kings who did not actually live among them. These were ruled by governors sent by the king in his place. Only competent persons were appointed for such posts. The choice was limited to such as were well-born. They were not free to introduce any custom or jurisdiction other than those the lands were accustomed to under their lords. All matters of importance appertained to the higher jurisdiction of the king. In this manner were governed, at the time, the lands of Moutan and Kandanad as also many others.

Council Meetings The Council gatherings at the Court dealt with general matters which concerned the king as well as the subjects. When any orders, commands, arbitrations or judgments of the king in council militated against the laws, welfare or privileges of any sub-kingdom, such orders were not obeyed by the people. Hence the association of the Chiefs and representatives of sub-kingdoms in these Council gatherings.

Councillors The Councillors of the kingdom were generally persons who had under their control the military forces of the land, namely the Nayars in the main. Besides these, there were persons possessing less power like Nambudiris who had no rights, but were competent and had experience. With these people, the king took counsel, and was bound by their votes in most matters, especially if the matters were those which must be carried out by the landlords. In matters of small importance, this practice was not followed so much.

Ragiadoor Moor The daily administration was mostly controlled by one man called upper Counsel-lord; when he was employed in no other department, he often exercised the office of a governor. The Portuguese therefore called him *Ragiadoor Moor* or Upper ruler. To this office, the king often appointed people possessing more importance, experience and knowledge than Nayars. Due attention was paid in all such cases to family, prestige, and dignity, as was always the practice of Malabar kings. The stewards (treasurers) and governors, sheriffs and lessees had to render account to these officers, because these Ragiadoor Moors were responsible for all that concerned the king and kingdom.

The Assembly of the People The kingdom had an assembly of the people constituting the whole nation. The assembly met at the summons of the king, or at the instance of the inhabitants. If it was summoned by the king, it was done through messengers. When the Assembly met, the heads of the land sat in a great circle under the bare sky. The foremost Nayars stood round it, and the others sat down. Here the proposals were made, accepted, or rejected by a general silence or shout. Affairs of small importance, not affecting the whole people, were however discussed and decided in an assembly of the foremost chiefs who were invited by the king for the purpose. When the Diet met

at the instance of people, it was generally more assertive and independent. This, however, seldom took place except when the people were mishandled by the king or suffered loss of their privileges. In such cases, all the landlords were invited by certain people who from of old had the privilege of doing so. These landlords could not refuse to appear either in person or through their heirs. In case of their default, the assembly seized or destroyed the houses, fruits and wells of such people. If they were intentionally unwilling, they were deprived of their votes and privileges. They might even be banished.

How the King Attempted to Prevent the Assembling of Popular Diets As the Diets were very often directed against the king, they were frequently disturbed by the latter in their proceedings, but this could not be done with violence as the assembly was constituted of armed folk. This folk sometimes numbered ten, fifteen or thirtythousand armed men. The Rajas, as an extreme measure, used force through small lads called *pandarepullas.* The latter provoked this assembly by all sorts of wantonness and petulance. They even threw sand, stones, dirt and filth. Those who were near at hand prevented this as far as possible with shields; and the business thus proceeded. But if any members reviled, beat, pushed, wounded or killed these *pullas*, the offenders were considered as having attacked the supreme power; and the whole land then incurred severe punishment. A mighty king would subdue them with armed force; otherwise, the king would lose his right, and the lands would fall away from his obedience. Sometimes, the differences were made up by the mediation of allies on either side.

Laws not Written, but Based on Customs Written laws whereby crimes were judged were not known among the Malabarees. Nor were there advocates or attorneys. But in everything justice was administered according to the

old usage which the elders had passed on to their descendants by word of mouth. Witnesses were heard in the presence of the accused; but, if the latter persisted in denying the charges, they were led up to the oath of purification in several forms. One of these was the putting of the hand into boiling oil. Another was the compulsion to swim in a river where there were many crocodiles. If the accused came over uninjured, after passing through the ordeal, they were judged not guilty; and the accusers were punished. Because these things happened in an elaborate way in the presence of priests, there was very great emphasis on the form and manner of the swearing of the oath. If the swearer showed fear or dismay, he was considered guilty, convicted and punished. There was no bodily punishment (like imprisonment) in use among them other than sentence of death or sale into slavery which latter most often happened.

Immunity from Taxation Taxation was not known among the Malabarees. The Nayars knew nothing of assessments on house, head, land or animal. Tolls were collected from all the strangers and merchants on merchandise and goods that went in or out whether by land or water. Otherwise, the inhabitants were wholly free. However, some people of low birth like fishermen and quarrelsome fellows had to bring annual gifts; but this happened more in the southern part of Malabar where the lands were situated near Madura and therefore influenced by the customs of that neighbourhood.

Cootes or Free Towns A Coote was a free town, where all refugees, whatever their crimes were, could not be pursued. Such places were so abundant, and everywhere in use, that there was hardly a hamlet where such were not found. They were mostly under spiritual overseers who, with their temples therein, lived quiet and peaceful lives. Because these places enjoyed great advantages, they were

situated in the best and most pleasant regions in the whole land. Some of them covered an area of several square miles. They were not shut in by walls or other signs of protection as places of refuge. Thus came into existence a great concourse of people who, because of their great freedom, settled there.

Protectors of Free Cities Manitsjoms (*Manushyams?*) were the protectors who looked after and defended the above-mentioned free cities. They were sent to war, not only by the lord in whose lands the free towns were situated, but also by the mightiest princes and Rajas of the surrounding lands. If any came to kill the *Manitsjoms*, all the princes under their protection were obliged to avenge the murdered protectors with arms. This was one of the oldest institutions, sacredly kept even as late as Dutch times in the name of the wise prince Cheramanperumal; and was the only means whereby the small and weak principalities were preserved against the mighty and violent princes. The princes were so keenly alive to the injury caused by absorption of lands, often times by a single prince, that they were glad to come to such an agreement. No man could refuse to send the protectors to any place to champion the laws there. They themselves took an obligatory oath of faithfulness to die fighting against all who used violence. Accordingly they renounced their fatherland, kinship and obedience to their lord or king. On the other hand, the king, prince or lord swore that, if subjects lost their lives in championing the freedom of others, he would avenge them. Finally, there was an oath solemnly made by the priests to the effect that they gladly gave their lives for the good of the state. Hence these men gladly hastened to death in the carrying out of their office as if they were going to a feast. The servants of the Dutch East India Company often saw this with their own eyes on the Malabar coast.

They were aware that those who died acted as if it was the lives of others they had in their own hands; for they fought as frantic and raving men without regard of peril or unequal might. So, these protectors were stationed, not only in places of spiritual dominion, but also in other areas which, without their help, could do nothing against their powerful neighbours. The Dutch Company which was allied with the foremost princes sometimes profited, and at other times suffered, because of these practices.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PEOPLE OF MALABAR IN DUTCH TIMES (i)

Character of the Malabarees Dutch writings abound in references to the various elements of the population of Malabar, their character, usages and history. The 'Malabarees', as the people of Malabar are called by the Dutch, have been described by Gollenesse in his *Memoir*,[1] as "not bloodthirsty like other eastern peoples" but as particularly covetous, faithless and insincere. "For money one would get anything out of them, and the greatest crimes might be atoned for by a small sum of money." "Honour and good faith, promises and oaths, were with them," we are told, "frailties easily broken if their interest required it; and so one could not look too much about and before with them. Not even the slightest trust could be placed in their promises."

This severe indictment by the Dutch Commandeur cannot be considered a fair and impartial judgment. Using their military superiority, the Dutch forced the princes of Malabar to agree to commercial treaties which were grossly unfair; and the latter could not be blamed if they tried all possible expedients to evade such unjust burdens and promises. Another Commandeur, Casper De Jong, who wrote in 1761, observed that, while virtue and uprightness was not the general rule of the Malabaree's

[1] Galletti, page 51.

conduct, and while he was generally crafty and deceitful, it was equally true that the Dutch, with their better instruction, ought to have pursued better lines of conduct.[2] Gollenesse adds: "What can you do with men who, when they are embarrassed or beaten, willingly submit to the terms and conditions of the conqueror, but who have no intention of observing them except as long as they feel the force to which they must bow, and whose good faith and obedience vanish as soon as it is withdrawn from this coast"? "Their hypocrisy," he says, "is profound. They are in no way excitable, but very composed; outwardly polite, but their heart full of bitterness, they are masters of the art of sounding a person without his noticing." Gollenesse thus found the Signatty (ruler of Desinganad or Quilon) proposing the opposite of what he wanted with a view to discover the Commandeur's sentiments. "If I rejected his proposal, he had gained his part; if I granted his request, he would produce so many engines directed to the gaining of his object, that I often found myself in a real quandary, scarcely knowing how to repulse the attack". English merchants in Karwar also held that no reliance could be placed on the promise of the Malabarees who are described as the most inconstant and perfidious people in the world.[3] Gollenesse continues: "The Malabaree was particularly phlegmatic, and ridiculed the hasty temper of Europeans, and had to be dealt with in his own way. Strong language and earnest admonitions had occasionally to be used. But they accomplished little unless backed by a good number of soldiers. Transactions with them were delayed very much by their numerous festival days and ceremonies." The Malabarees, again, had great faith in lucky days and un-

[2] Memoir of Caspar De Jong (Dutch Records No. 11, Madras Government Press, 1910) page 4, para 5 and Galletti, page 61, foot-note.

[3] Letter signed by Giffard and Chamberlain from Karwar dated 16th December, 1668 in Foster's English Factories.

lucky days; but in practice a day was considered lucky or unlucky according to their interests and convenience.

The Non-Christians Communities

Nayars The Nayars who occupied a unique place in Malabar and were the chief military class are described at some length in the encyclopaedic Memoir of Van Rheede. The Rajas, princes and lords enumerated by him are credited with the possession of very large forces of Nayars or vassals who were obliged to serve their lords in the war. For the most part, the number of Nayars possessed by a king was given in regard to each body of fighters. For example, if a King had seven hundred Nayar soldiers, his army was spoken of as his seven hundred. Many rulers seem to have been served by a larger number of Nayars than was assigned to them in the beginning. The Nayars were people who from youth were educated to the use of guns and of war, free from all manual labour and commercial transactions except the sale or barter of the fruits of their landed property. The landed estates which they possessed were feudal estates for the use of which they were obliged not only to protect their regions but also to serve in wars the king or lord they obeyed without other payment than victuals. They were honoured far above all the others of the race of Sudras[4] and were therefore treated as the nobles of the land in whose hands rested the might and force of the whole nation. They were valiant, undaunted in fight, and excellently trained in the use of guns. They never allowed themselves to be taken alive as captives in wars against each other because to them death was more honourable than a prison. They never or seldom married. At least they were not bound to wedlock.

[4] The Sudras were the lowest of the four Hindu castes. The Nayars are here assumed as belonging to that caste. Nowadays the Nayars claim to be of higher rank than the Sudras, though it is quite usual to speak of Sudras as a synonym for Nayars.

Chogans The princes had, besides the Nayars, many people under arms called the *Chogans*. When subjects rose up against their lords, these armed men had to protect the freedom and privileges of the rulers. Thus it could be truly said that the national existence of the Malabaree was due to the presence of large numbers of fierce men armed for war. Their strength in fact extended to three lakhs.[5]

Other Fighting Elements It must, however, be observed that he Nayars and the Chogans did not form the sole fighting elements in Malabar. Gouvea who edited the journal of Archbishop Menezes speaks of the Syrian Archdeacon having gathered a gallant band of 3,000 men-at-arms, and observes that the Christians of St. Thomas were the best warriors, the strongest and most skilful gunsmen in the whole of Malabar (Chapter IX of Dajornado).[6] The Batavia Diary also speaks of soldiers belonging to St. Thomas Christians at the fort of Cochin.

Other Elements of the Population of Malabar The Non-Nayars included large numbers who were judged unworthy to fight. The Chief communities outside the Nayar fold were Brahmins, Chetties, other Sudras and foreigners like the Moors, Jews, Canarins and Christians.

The Brahmins led spiritual lives. They were forbidden to carry muskets and were not allowed to pollute themselves with blood or death.

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[5] Gollenesse who wrote in the 18th century holds that Van Rheede's estimate of the number of Nayars is an exaggerated one, and that the real figures must have been smaller than the 1,514000 given by him. Galletti pertinently remarks that the total number of Nayars in Van Rheede's list is more than the whole Nayar population of British Malabar (391,000) Travancore (536,000) and Cochin (112.000) according to the census of 1911. (Galletti, page 50, foot-note).

[6] This and other passages from the *Dajornado* are extracted by kind permission from the English translation furnished by Mr. K. N. Daniel.

They were again divided into kings, priests or Nambudiris and Pattammars or Pattars. Among the Brahmin kings were the Rulers of Porca[7] (Purakkad or Chembakassery), Repolim (Idappalli)[8]; and Paru (Parur).[9] As spiritual people they had also worldly dominion and enjoyed very great power and consideration because of their lineage. In wordly importance the Raja of Repolim excelled all other Brahmin rulers. It was held by Van Rheede that, among monarchs, they were the fairest and the most learned. They led strict lives, but again, by reason of their high birth, were very conceited, sly in their purpose, daring in execution, and ready to go to war to revenge any wrong done to them. Guovea speaks, for example, of a fierce war between Parur and Alangad because of some difference between them. Even in war the rule was that no one should kill or wound them. This made them very proud.

Nambudiris The Nambudiris or priests were Malabar Brahmins. Some had no other work but temple service. These were free of all worldly care, being continually engaged in the study of Hindu philosophy, Astronomy, and Natural Sciences. They were very good and honest people, of a devout and modest life, ate nothing that had life, nor drank any intoxicants; they drank nothing but water, honey, milk, and butter. Among them were many who allowed themselves to be employed at the palaces of princes as counsellors and ambassadors. To them were entrusted the most important affairs of government and social welfare as also the education of the children of the foremost princes and lords. These people also betook themselves eagerly to commerce as their learning and manner of life could bring them but little wealth. Their skill and wisdom made them

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[7] Purakkad is on the bus road from Alleppey to Quilon, just a few miles south of Alleppey.

[8] Idappally is a railway station between Alwaye and Ernakulam.

[9] Parur is ten miles west of Alwaye.

very arrogant. Nevertheless they were very friendly and courteous and would do nothing in anger.

The Pattars The *Pattammars* or *Pattars* were also Brahmins, but not of Malabar descent. Driven out of the Carnatic, Gingi, and Tanjore by the Muhammadans, these people settled down, in the south, under the jurisdiction of Travancore, Kayamkulam and Tekkenkur and, in the north, under Cochin and the Zamorin, within and beyond the mountains of Palghat. They were scattered throughout the whole of Malabar and were welcomed everywhere on charitable considerations as also for purposes of Divine worship like the members of the tribe of Levi among the Jews. But because their number was large and the Malabar kingdoms too small to feed and maintain such a large number, they were forced to seek means whereby they could support themselves. Inland commerce was thus wholly resigned to them on such favourable and privileged conditions that they were not only exempt from duties throughout the whole land, but were also fed at every lord's palace and temple. But this great multitude could not all be turned into merchants. Great poverty and confusion, therefore, prevailed among them. The chief people, however, formed themselves into great societies on the stipulation that they were to have the monopoly of carrying goods and merchandise for set rewards. In this way, all goods were brought into and taken out of Malabar by these Pattars. Sometimes whole armies of them were found on the way.

Kshatriyas The Kshatriyas belonged to the race of kings, although all Kshatriyas were not kings and outside that race also kings were found. They were considered the noblest in birth and ranked next to Brahmins in dignity. The Rajas of Cochin, Cranganore, Bellange, Bettatte and Colattiri were of that race, besides many others.

Sudras The *Sudras* were divided into a number of branches so separated from the others that every one of them formed a whole people. With regard to their profession and manner of life, their foremost division consisted of Nayars already described. After them came all the others. These did a little retail trade or worked in a profession. Sudras not included under the heading Nayars and non-Sudras followed the trades of tree-climbers, carpenters, smiths, farmers, etc. They formed the bulk of the population. The first of these, the tree-climbers (otherwise called Chogas), were, as already stated, bound to render military service. These people almost generally served in the fencing schools with Nayars as masters; otherwise, their occupation was to tap the cocoanut palm and to make toddy, arrack and jaggery, so that they were fairly well-to-do.

Foreigners The next division of the inhabitants comprised the foreigners who were scattered in very large numbers in Malabar. They belonged to four different races, the Jews, Moors, Kanarins and Christians. The last of these will be dealt with in a separate chapter. The others may now be briefly described.

The Jews The Jews had been very long in these regions and could be traced to the time of the Babylonish captivity.[10] They lived in whole streets which were like small villages. The houses were of stone; and in several places they had magnificent synagogues. They enjoyed complete freedom of worship under their Hindu Kings. In this respect, Malabar was far in advance of contemporary Europe and England. Their trade was buying and selling. They carried no guns but were protected by the princes of

[10] The Babylonian Captivity or Exile is the period in Jewish history from the carrying away of the people of Judæa to Babylon in 597 and 586 to their return in 538 B.C.

the lands. They had been formed by mixture with native women, and had in a long time grown to a numerous people.

Moens' Memoir (1780) gives much information about them. They were, he says, the most ancient of all the foreigners. They possessed a copper plate charter from Cheraman Perumal. This patent was usually in the keeping of their successive Mudaliars or headmen. The Jews, according to the charter, possessed the right, conceded to no one else, of firing, without a previous request and special permission, three salutes at the break of day or on the marriage day of any one who entered upon the marriage state. This was a privilege which in the eighteenth century the Kings of Cochin reserved to themselves. This is supposed to prove the authenticity of Cheraman Perumal's grant to them.

The Jews were once very influential at Cranganore. The Jews of the coast were divided into White and Black sections. The former included foreigners from Europe, from the Turkish Asiatic provinces, Arabia and Persia. They became related to the original Jewish inhabitants by marriage. The Black Jews whose colour is almost the same as that of the Malabar lower castes were regarded as the descendants of Jewish converts both from the free people of Malabar and from the freed slaves. The number of the Black Jews was much larger than that of the White Jews. In Moens' time the Jewish nation had seven chief settlements in Malabar. About 150 families lived in the Jewish quarters next to the palace of the King of Cochin. At Anjikaimal (Ernakulam) they possessed a little over 100 houses and two synagogues. At Paru (Parur) there were nearly 100 houses and one synagogue; at Chenotta (Chennamangalam) there were 50 families and one synagogue. There were 10 families with a synagogue on the

island of Territur and 12 families with one synagogue at Mutom (Madatankil). Most of the Jews lived by trade. The majority of the Black Jews applied themselves to agriculture and cattle-rearing as also to selling and buying victuals, especially butter and poultry. Being numerically superior to the White Jews, the Black Jews rose on more than one occasion against the former, and used such violence as necessitated the interposition of the ruler of the country for the protection of the White Jews. Hence the latter treated the Black Jews with coldness and contempt. These differences were usually caused by the Black Jews constantly pressing for social equality with the White Jews. The latter would not allow this, because they did not look upon the Black Jews as the original immigrants, but as either the issue of their released slaves or of natives of Malabar, who had been made proselytes. The Black Jews always wanted to mix with the White Jews by intermarrying. They were discourteous in greetings and salutations in the street. By striving for the first places in the synagogue at public meetings and on other occasions, they aimed, if not at superiority, at least at equality. This led to strained relations between each other. The Malabar Jews did not possess the acuteness, the activity, the untidiness, and the deceitfulness which western observers attribute to the European Jews.

Cranganore, the traditional capital of Cheramanperumal, was the principal place where the Jews first settled down. They enjoyed the patronage and protection of the Malabar princes till the arrival of the Portuguese who were unfriendly to the Jews. The contemptuous treatment, oppressive taxation, and religious intolerance to which they were subjected made the Jews leave Cranganore. They were partly driven out by the Portuguese from Cranganore in 1514 and entirely by 1565. On leaving Cranganore, they sought the protection

of the king of Cochin. The latter granted to them the ground they now occupy at Cochin next to the palace. At Cochin also there had been Jews previously; they were oppressed by the Portuguese till the arrival of the Dutch.

When Rijcklof Van Goens laid siege to Cochin, the Jews promptly furnished victuals and other assistance to the Dutch Company in the hope of securing civil and religious liberty under the Dutch rulers. When the Dutch retired on the outbreak of the Monsoon, the Portuguese wreaked a terrific revenge on the Jews by sending to the Jewish quarters a detachment of soldiers who pillaged it and set it on fire. The Jews then fled to the highlands and returned only after the Portuguese were finally expelled from Cochin by the Dutch who made the condition of the Jews happier. Their leading men were honoured with the title of Mudaliar and had an official staff given to him the top of which was mounted with gold; the motto of the Dutch East India Company was engraved on it. Three years after the Dutch Capture of Cochin i.e. in 1666, the Jewish synagogue at Cochin was re-built. (*Vide* inscription at the White Jews' synagogue, Cochin). Tourists still visit their synagogue. The community, except for stray exceptions, seems to be declining.

The Moors or Muhammadans The Moors or Muhammadans were also scattered in large numbers like the Jews. They used weapons and wielded a perfect dominion at many places. They infested the seas for plunder. They were the richest, mightiest, and most diligent merchants in the whole land. They were loved by the princes of the land because the latter derived great profit from them through trade and navigation. They reckoned their origin from the Saracens and Arabs who at one time were in sole possession of the Indian trade. After the rise of Muhammad, they received his faith. As Muhammadans

they came to the Malabar coast for the twofold object of trade as well as conversion.

Whether the last Cheramanperumal accepted Islam or died a Hindu in the Cranganore temple, it must be conceded that he was never opposed to the spread and propagation of Islam. It is possible that he favoured the Muhammadans far more than his predecessors. He openly allowed them to propagate their religion. Their subsequent increase was so great that there was hardly a place in Malabar, especially along the coast, where Muhammadans had not settled down for trade. They were found in large numbers in the Zamorin's kingdom. They had a hand in the government of the place. It was this political influence of the Moors at Calicut which led to estrangement between the Portuguese and the Zamorin and the offer of hospitality by the ruler of Cochin to the Portuguese. Thus their influence on the fortunes of European nations in Malabar was by no means negligible.

The Indian Muhammadans were divided into four sects; the difference between whom lay more in civil rank in society than in religion. The Shafites and Hanfites were the two sects mostly found in Malabar. The distinction between the sects was derived from the castes or classes of the Indians who, even after embracing Islam, retained their former social prejudices.[11]

The Canarins An important class of foreigners were the Canarins who are described by Van Rheede as having come from Canara and Goa. But Moens points out that they were not called after the kingdom of Canara since they never had any connection with the inhabitants of Canara who were properly called Canarese and not Canarins. According to their own accounts, they came originally from

[11] Galletti, page 199.

a district of the name of Sastaverdes. Galletti notes that Saraswati was the name of a river in Sanskrit works and that the Canarins were the Konkani Sarasvat Brahmins and Kudimi Chetties[12] still to be found in Cochin and modern Travancore (called also Ikkeris from the Ikkeri or Bednore kingdom). There was little difference between the Canarins and the Jews in the matter of trade, utensils, dwellings and practices. Many of them applied themselves also to agriculture in which they were assisted by the low caste Kudumis who cultivated their fields and gardens for them. Some of the Canarins engaged in commerce were prominent wholesale merchants trading with foreign nations and native traders; others were retailers supplying everything domestic except livestock. Some of them were money changers. Every one of them had some kind of trade, even children of six and seven being trained to trade. Moens was impressed alike by their cleverness and their dishonesty. Some also played remarkable parts in politics. The King of Cochin claimed them as his subjects as they lived in his territory. They went to him for settling their disputes and accepted his decision. They are described as the most consummate cheats among the people of Malabar. But their services as retail traders were indispensable. Trading in livestock, as being contrary to Hindu religion, was in the hands of the Black Jews. Otherwise, the whole of the retail trade down to that in the smallest articles was in their hands. Later on, the disputes between them and the king of Cochin led to many delicate negotiations between the Dutch Company and the king about the jurisdiction over these people. The Dutch narrative of Moens clearly shows that the author of the Cochin State Manual is not absolutely correct when he says that Canarins were natives of Kanara converted to Christianity by the Portuguese.[13]

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[12] Galletti, page 200, text and footnote.

[13] Achyuta Menon, Cochin State Manual (1911), page 94.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PEOPLE OF MALABAR (ii)

The Christian Community—An Account based mainly or Dutch Writings

The Christian Community The Dutch found in Malabar a numerous Christian community composed of different sections.

(*a*) *The Syrian Christians*

The Christians of St. Thomas, as the Syrian Christians were called in Dutch times, were spread over the whole land and had large villages for their dwelling. They enjoyed free exercise of their religion and occupied no small place among the dwellers of Malabar. Many hold that Christianity came to India as early as the first century after Christ, long before Europe turned to it, and established a firm hold in South India. At any rate, it is clear that they were possessed of a recognised status in Malabar when the Portuguese first came, and their social position was not worse at the time of the arrival of the Dutch. Van Rheede held that the St. Thomas Christians were not of Malabar descent, but a people plucked from the lands of the Carnatic or Coromandel coast and pushed westwards by their Hindu fellow-countrymen who bitterly resented their conversion to the Christian faith. An exhaustive examination of the racial affinities and early movements of this community is not called for in the present treatise. But it may be stated at the outset that Portuguese and Dutch writings prove conclusively

that they possessed a social and military position not inferior to that of the Nayars (Guovea and Herport). There is no anthropometrical evidence to substantiate the finding of Professor Crooke,[1] the authority relied on by the author of the Travancore Census Report of 1931, in support of a low caste origin for this community. Even without any elaborate anthropological measurements, it must, as Mr. K. Chandy pertinently observed, be obvious to any impartial observer that they come from a stock identical with or indistinguishable from the Nayars, and not from the Depressed Classes.[2] Whether the ancient Christian Community in Malabar was actually founded by the Apostle St. Thomas or not-a matter on which scholars differ-there can be no doubt that they have been in India for long centuries. What evidence there is, goes to show that the Portuguese found in Malabar a church essentially Nestorian.[3] Van Rheede and Moens are definitely of the view that the Malabar Christians are the descendants of refugees from the Coromandel coast. "It is known that the Christians at Mylapore had been very numerous and long flourished there notwithstanding the scorn and hard treatment they received from the non-Christians till at last this town was devastated and the Christians persecuted by fire and sword. They were then dispersed over other countries where they received gentler treatment, especially on the Malabar coast, and more particularly "in the

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[1] The eminent professor's right to speak on matters relating to Malabar stands seriously discredited when we remember that, in his edition or Tavernier's travels, he says that Gedorme mentioned in the traveller's narratives of the Dutch capture of Cochin is Kottayam, the capital of the Syrian Christians, while it is as clear as day light to any person conversant with the history of the period that Gedorme can only mean Godavarma, the Cochin prince who was being chased by the Dutch.

[2] It is curious that the Dutch accounts make no specific mention of the Depressed Classes who formed a not inconsiderable section of the population.

[3] The Nestorians hold that the divine and human natures were not merged in one person in Christ.

kingdoms of Cranganore, Coilan, Travancore, in the cities of Calicut and Todomale as also in the towns of the Malabar highlands." [4]

Syrians in Portuguese Times When the Dutch first came to Malabar, the Syrian Christians had become a great race and people, living in more than 1400 villages, with 150 churches, and having for long years as their spiritual heads Patriarchs from Jerusalem. With the exception of a small remnant in the neighbourhood of Quadshanis in Kurdistan, they seem to have been the only section of the Nestorian Church that had been able to maintain its distinct identity through the centuries.[5] They were held in great esteem in the south of India, and one of them is even mentioned as having been the Prime Minister of the King of Vijayanagar in 1442.[6] The Portuguese on their arrival found them to be one of the ruling and military classes on the Malabar Coast.[7] Indeed, Hunter holds that they had a political past more ancient than that of some of the Malabar princes; it is said that the Zamorin's bodyguard and most of his aristocracy consisted of Nayars and Nestorian Christians.[8] Certain Copper Plate Charters granted to these Syrians by the old rulers of Malabar still exist. Though their existence was denied by Moens, they were found in a record room in Cochin by the British Resident in 1806.[9] Favoured with special privileges, the St. Thomas Christians are believed to have increased in influence, power and numbers among the nations of the country.[10]

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[4] *Vide* Galletti, page 172. More information about the Syrian Christians can be found in Moens' Memoir translated into English and included in Galletti's "The Dutch in Malabar".

[5] Stewart: Nestorian Missionary Enterprise, page 101.

[6] Terpstra, H. *De vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de cust van Koromandel*, 1911, page 24.

[7] Morse Stephens' Albuquerque in Rulers of India, page 23.

[8] *Ibid*, page 25.

[9] Galletti, page 173, footnote.

[10] *Ibid*, page 174.

The Story of a Syrian King The Syrian Christians are said to have chosen one of themselves to be a sort of king or ruler over them. This chief was called "Balearte"[11] (Veliattattu) and resided at Udiamperur (Diamper), three Dutch (12 English) miles from Cochin in the present Travancore State on the boundary line between Cochin and Travancore. At the church at Diamper, one still notices an epitaph of Thomas Raja who lived at Chennamangalam. When the Kings of this dynasty died out altogether, the kings of Cochin are supposed to have got possession of that kingdom. The Jesuit Collection *Oriente Conquistado* II–69, however, says that 'Balearte' was not Christian but a Hindu ruler.[12]

Syrian Christians and Hindu Rulers These Christians suffered persecution at the hands of Hindu rulers and also suffered from the dearth of Christian teachers; and the result was spiritual decline. In course of time, they obtained leave from the kings of Cochin to create one of their priests as Archdeacon. The king conferred on this officer the rank of a *Rajadore* (Portuguese *regedor*, high officer) of the kingdom, and power to decide all civil disputes among the people of his own faith.[13] They were not subjected to any persecution by the kings of Cochin who, on the other hand, gave them a sort of protection. But there were very many Christians scattered about under other princes of whom the same could not be said. It was when the Muhammadan influence became predominant in Malabar that the St. Thomas Christians retired from the

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[11] In the Powra Prabha of the 1st May 1942, Mr. T. K. Joseph quotes a document of the days of Mar Thomas VI, Syrian Metropolitan, (1761—1808) wherein it is stated that a nephew of the king of Udiamperur (Diamper) became converted to Christianity and thus became the head of the *Nazaranis* (Christians). His name was the king of *Veliyattattu*. As he died without nephews, the kingdom became merged in *Airur* and later in *Perumpadapu* (Cochin) when all the honours and dignities of Airur passed on to *Perumpadapu*.

[12] Galletti, page 174, footnote.

[13] Galletti, page 174.

dominions of the Zamorin, and established themselves among their brethren who had lived in the territories of the Raja of Cochin. The Syrians who remained in the Zamorin's dominions seem to have been exterminated during Tippu's wars.[14]

Portuguese Friendliness During Vasco da Gama's second voyage to Malabar, the St. Thomas Christians sent him their ambassadors with the request that they might be taken under his powerful protection and freed from the vexation of Hindu kings. It was represented that, though they were better off under the kings of Cochin than under others, they had not been entirely free from disagreeable treatment. As a token of their voluntary submission, they sent him a small red stick, the ends of which were covered with gold, and at one end of which there were three little golden bells. This was claimed to be a sceptre which was the symbol of their vanished royal dignity. Despite Vasco da Gama's promise to grant their request, they continued to be subject to the rule of Hindu kings. But, with the advent of a Christian power in Malabar, the kings became more accommodating in religious affairs, and gave even legal jurisdiction to the Bishops, hardly troubling themselves about the civil affairs of these Christians.

Portuguese Opposition In the first half of the sixteenth century, foreign prelates continued to reach Malabar from Syria.[15] But the Inquisition[16] at Goa soon discovered in

[14] The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society, 1816 to 1840, by P. Cheriyan (Kottayam, C. M. S. Press, 1935). There is a tradition that Tippu converted many of these Christians to Muhammadanism and enlisted them in his army. Their descendants, Mr. K. Chandy believed, might be traced in Seringapatam and Mysore by any painstaking scholar.

[15] Galletti, page 175.

[16] The Inquisition was an ecclesiastical tribunal founded in 1248 by Pope Innocent IV for the suppression of heresies. The Portuguese established the inquisition in Goa. Even allowing fully for exaggeration, the Inquisition was responsible for thousands of deaths and a vast amount of suffering.

the Christians of St. Thomas heresy and schism as they were in communion with the Nestorian Bishops who faced the dangers of sea and land to reach their Diocese on the Malabar coast.[17] The early Franciscan missionaries did not, however, cause much trouble to the existing church and for fifty years there arose no conflict between the two bodies. From the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese began to entertain the idea of subjecting these ancient Christians to the authority of the Church of Rome. Attempts began to be made to bring Roman theological influences on the Syrian clergy for whose education a College was built at Cranganore in 1545 by a Franciscan friar named Vincent.[18] The teaching of the usages of the Latin church did not produce the expected results. Another college was established by the Jesuits at Vaipicotta in 1587 where the students were taught Chaladean or Syriac.[19] Finding that these measures did not produce the desired effects, the Portuguese began to resort to force.

The Jesuits under St. Francis Xavier came to Malabar in 1542. In 1551 the Portuguese Governors began to exert pressure on the Syrian Christians for making them accept Roman Catholic doctrine and practice. Native princes were compelled to persecute the Christians. Confiscations, imprisonments and other hardships were resorted to for bringing about their reconciliation with Rome.[20] The Syrians, however, refused to come to terms with the Portuguese. At last matters headed to a crisis when the famous Fra Aleixo de Menezes, the Portuguese Archbishop

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[17] Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter XLVII, quoted by Cheriyan.

[18] Geddes, History of the Malabar Church, page 8.

[19] The visitor to Chennamangalam can see the desolate site of the seminary where the Cochin Archæological Department has put up an inscription.

[20] W. W. Hunter, The Indian Empire, page 242 quoted by Stewart in "Nestorian Missionary Enterprise", C.L.S., Madras, 1928, page 125.

and Primate of India who after the death of the Viceroy was for some time head of the temporal affairs in India, arrived in Malabar.

The Diamper Synod, 1599 The Archbishop decided to hold a synod at Diamper not only to look after ecclesiastical and spiritual matters but also after the temporal and juridical as well. He decreed that from each locality or centre of population four men should be elected by the people as their representatives with power to approve in their name all that might be done in the synod for proper decrees in and just settlement of any private business, suit or action. As the Archbishop had spent 18,000 *parduas* in the shape of presents to the Malabar Rajas, he was sure of their support in bringing about the reform of Malabar Christianity. On the 20th June 1599, as we read on the copper plate on the gateway leading to the Diamper church, the Synod of Diamper was held in that church by Archbishop Menezes. The object of the Synod was to convert the whole Syrian Church to Rome. The numbers present at the Synod were one hundred and fifty *kattanars* or priests and six hundred and sixty notables including eminent Portuguese delegates. The majority acquiesced in the proposals of Archbishop Menezes, compelled thereto by the sheer might of his overpowering personality, and submitted at least nominally to the headship of Rome.[21] We read in the eighteenth canon of the third session of the Synod of Diamper, as printed at Rome, that the Archdeacon George, the leader of the syrians, "repudiated the tenets of Nestorius and separated himself from the Patriarch of Mosul *pro forma* and found himself compelled to acknowledge the hierarchy of the Pope of Rome. It was in this way that the Syrian Christians were for the first time united to the Church of Rome."[22]

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[21] Stewart, page 126. [22] Galletti, page 176.

At the Synod, Menezes gladly commended the Malabar Christians to the Captain of Cochin, D. Antonio de Noronha, and the Municipal Council of Cochin who had been specially summoned to the Synod. As these stood reverently before him, the Archbishop told them that he there and then was giving in their charge the Christians of St. Thomas who had submitted to the Holy Roman Church. They were therefore requested to take these Christians under their protection in the name of His Majesty the King of Portugal, Protector and Defender of all Catholics in India and in the East, exception being made of the subjection and vassalage they owed their kings and lords whose subjects they were in matters not affecting the Law of Christ and obedience to the Church and its Prelates as well as their ancient privileges always preserved by all the Malabar Rajas. Thereupon D. Antonio de Noronha, Captain of Cochin, fell on his knees before the Archbishop together with the Council and other notables and remaining in the posture all the time said with tears that, in the name of the King of Portugal, his lord, he and other officials present took all the Christians of St. Thomas, all and each with their churches and bazaars, under their protection and safeguard in matters concerning the Law of Christ. A document incorporating this pledge was made and was signed by the Captain and the Council. The document was then handed by the Archbishop to the Archdeacon and four leading Christians to be kept in the archives of Angamali, the seat of the Bishopric. Such was the beginning of the interest which European nations exercising political power on the West Coast, whether Portuguese, Dutch or English, took in the concerns of the Syrian Christians.[23]

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[23] This Synod was held at Diamper situated in the territory of the Queen of Pimenta (Vatakkumkur) and bordering on the one side with the land of the Raja of Porca and on the other with that of Tekkenkur because of its easy access to the fort of Cochin. Angamali, the headquarters of the Diocese, was not chosen.

Results of the Synod As a result of the Synod, the Roman supremacy was established on the West Coast, and seventy-five new churches were brought under the control of Rome.[24] The St. Thomas Christians lost their separate individuality and became merged in the Roman Church. The surrender of the Syrians seemed complete. How complete it was we could see from the oath taken at the Synod. The synodists agreed to the Archbishop's suggestion to remove the errors and heresies disseminated in the Diocese by Nestorian heretics, to erase from the books the false doctrines set therein, to obey the Holy Roman Church and the Pope, successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Christ on earth, to do away with public simonies employed by priests in the administration of sacraments, and to reform the clergy, the church and the people. The oath ran as follows: "I believe and profess all that the Holy Mother, the Roman Church, believes and professes and all that is contained in the profession of faith which has just been read, and which I wholly heard and distinctly understood. I condemn the perverse heretic Nestor and all his followers with all their heresies. I accept the first Ephesian Council over which, in the name of the Holy Roman Pontiff, presided the glorious St. Cyril Patriarch of Alexandria whom I confess to be a saint with God. Likewise, I confess Christ our Lord to be true God and true man, there being in Him two natures divine and human in only one, and that the Blessed Virgin Mary should be called and is really and truly the Mother

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because the Archbishop had never preached there and because he was not likely to have many to support him there as the people were very much attached to the Archdeacon. Diamper was more central in the Diocese and more accessible to all and nearer to Cochin whence they could with greater dispatch bring what was necessary to celebrate the Synod. The subjects of the Rajah of Cochin were also anxious to have the Synod in their own territory, and the Portuguese welcomed the proposal as they anticipated less trouble in the territory of a Rajah friendly to and dependent on them (Guovea).

[24] Travancore Archæological series VI, page 66.

of God; and I acknowledge the Holy Roman Church as the mother, teacher and head of all the Churches of the world and swear true obedience and submission to the Holy Father the Pope, Roman Pontiff, successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Christ on earth, without any dependence on the Patriarch of Babylon with whom I swear not to hold any communication. And I promise not to accept in this Diocese any Bishop or Prelate other than the one in due time sent by the Holy Pontiff. I further confess that there is not more than one law of Christ our Lord which was preached by the Holy Apostles and that it is heretical to say that there is one law of St. Peter and another of St. Thomas—all which I profess, promise and swear to God and this Holy Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ and these Holy Gospels."[25]

Secession from Rome The attitude of the Portuguese towards the Syrians was quite in keeping with the bigotry and intolerance which characterised that nation and which formed one of the causes of their final overthrow in the East. As the seventeenth century dawned, the Syrians appeared crushed altogether. But deliverance was not far off. The Dutch who eventually replaced the Portuguese in Malabar had already begun to show themselves on the mainland of India. Those who submitted continued under Rome until 1644 when, on hearing that a Syrian Bishop on his way to Malabar was entrapped by the Portuguese and thrown into the sea at Cochin harbour with a stone about his neck, the Syrians were deeply horrified, and called together a meeting at Mattancherry about a quarter of an hour's walk from the Cochin fort and pledged themselves with an oath never more to obey the Roman Bishops of the Portuguese. They chose their Archdeacon Thomas (called by Moens Archdeacon Mar Thomas Gampho) as their Bishop. He was however wanting in tact and could not keep the Syrians

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[25] Guovea, *Dajonardo,* Chapter X.

united. After the lapse of some years, most of them again submitted to the Portuguese till the year 1655 when, on the arrival from Antioch of two Bishops Mar Basilius and Mar Johannes who were received with great rejoicings by these Christians, a large number left the Roman Church and submitted themselves to the Patriarch of Antioch.

How the Dutch Found the Syrians When the Dutch came, they thus found the Syrian Christians divided in their allegiance. Some had asserted their independence of Rome and were under a Bishop of theirs apparently attached to Antioch. Moens' narrative is not very clear on the relations of the newly arrived foreign Bishops with Mar Thoma Gampho, the Archdeacon who became Bishop and was found as such when Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens captured the town of Cochin and other forts on the Malabar coast. After the murder of the foreign Bishop in Cochin harbour, the Portuguese Bishop went to Cranganore and secretly wrote letters to the Syrian Christians. He tried to seduce them by presents, and many were won over. Bribed by the Portuguese, many of the Rajas in whose lands the Syrian Christians lived made use of every sort of annoyance, vexation and persecution to compel Syrians to remain subservient to Rome. The result was a division among the Syrians a good many of whom remained faithful to Rome and nominated a priest by name Alexander de Gampho as Bishop. He remained mostly on the coast although he had also some inland churches under his jurisdiction.

(b) The non-Syrian Roman Catholics called by Van Rheede as Inland Christians and as New Christians by Moens.

Missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church In Malabar Before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, some missionaries of the Roman Church had found their way to Malabar. Friar Jordan, a Roman priest who

preached at Thanna and Salsette and was murdered there by the Moors, had been consecrated Bishop of Quilon by Pope John XXII at Avignon in 1327 A.D., and two letters of the Pope to the Christians of Malabar dated 1330 are given in Vol. III of the *Oriens Christians.*[26] Many Roman clergy naturally came to India with Vasco da Gama and his successors. Father Rodrigo, a Dominican, was busy converting Hindus at Quilon in the year 1563, he having been left there by the great Alfonso D'Albuquerque.[27] Francis Xavier who arrived at Goa in May 1542 did much missionary work and converted many fishermen on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. Although, on the arrival of the Portuguese in India, the King of Cochin had forbidden his subjects, under pain of heavy punishments, to embrace the Roman religion, that prohibition was withdrawn in 1560 and all were given freedom to believe what they liked.[28] In 1600 the Jesuit, Father Francis Rose, a Spaniard by birth, was appointed Bishop of Angamali by the Pope. His title was changed to that of Archbishop of Cranganore in 1609. Up to 1659, Jesuit Fathers were raised one after another to this dignity. Thus there was considerable scope for missionary work by Roman clergy during this period.

Inland Christians[29] The inland Christians were native Malabarees of all races converted to the Roman Catholic faith by their priests. They were grouped into seven parish churches placed under the Bishop of Cochin who had his Cathedral in that town. After Cochin was conquered by the Dutch, they became subjects of the Dutch East India Company. They lived scattered far and wide over the interior of Cochin.

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[26] Travancore State Manual by Nagamayya, Vol. 2, page 145.
[27] D'Albuquerque's Commentaries quoted by Galletti, page 181.
[28] Moens in Galletti, page 181.
[29] Memoir of Van Rheede, Dutch Records No. 14, Chapter XLIII, page 34.

Some were fishermen and others soldiers called lascars who had done much good service to the Dutch Company. They went dressed as lascars of Malabar and practised all the common professions; because of the oppression to which they were subjected by the Hindus among whom they lived, they had requested that they should be allowed to live in the Company's islands and gardens on promise to pay yearly the Pattom money. Van Rheede was for allowing this as the lands were thus likely to be improved; and the town of Cochin would be watched against pirates, rogues and thieves by this advance guard of armed and warlike people who could be relied on to supply all kinds of foodstuffs. If these were close at hand, they could be used immediately in the service of the Company against any Malabarees. They could also be employed if the Dutch were besieged in the town by other Europeans. They were faithful, brave and willing to be treated friendly and politely. When they were in service, they received two Rixdollars and a Parah of rice. Otherwise they had to maintain themselves.

Topass Christians[30] The Topass Christians were the descendants of Indian mothers and fathers belonging to diverse European nations. The name, says the author of the Cochin State Manual, is a corruption of the Sanskrit word Dvibashi meaning interpreter. They acted as interpreters between Europeans and Indians. On the capture of Cochin, Van Goens offered to take such of them as were willing into his service, and many of them acceded to the proposal.[31] During Portuguese times, they were the dwellers of the town of Cochin. All the retail trade and handicrafts were in their hands. They were dressed like the Portuguese, and spoke common or low Portuguese. Though dressed in European style, they

[30] Memoir of Van Rheede, Dutch Records No. 14, Chapter XLIV, pages 34-36.

[31] Achyuta Menon: Cochin State Manual 1911, page 94.

usually went bare-footed and wore a white linen cap with a hat above it. They lived by all kinds of trades. There were among them carpenters, brick-layers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tailors and shoe-makers. They excelled in making decorations for the Roman churches on feast days, also for wedding and other special occasions. For some of them, this was a means of livelihood. Many of them also lived by cultivation, and some as soldiers. But, as a rule, they were lazy and worthless people who did not know any trade and refused to work. They enlisted for military service from sheer necessity. They had the characteristics of the Portuguese and were whole-heartedly with them in sympathy. They were Roman Catholic proselytes of the Portuguese, and excelled the latter in bigotry. When the Dutch came, they were under the Bishop who had his cathedral in the town of Cochin. Some of them were the slaves of the Portuguese subsequently emancipated. Others were the children of Portuguese men and native women. They belonged rather to the indigenous than the foreign element.

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE DUTCH IN MALABAR

Dutch Attitude towards Missionary Work Tavernier accused the Dutch of lack of missionary interest. To this Quillenburgh replies that the hindrances to the success of evangelical efforts in Malabar were many. It was not only the opposition of the Muhammadans and Roman Catholics that had to be reckoned with, but also the social customs of Malabar. Because of their castes or tribes, they were so much united together that whoever apostasised from their doctrine was directly abandoned not only by his father, mother, brother, sisters and all other relations, but also became an outcaste deprived of all the inheritance he might have been taught to expect. This was of such importance that these people would rather cling to their old religious ways than become outcastes and so be deprived of their future expectations.[1]

The Dutch not Irreligious The Dutch were not irreligious. Like the English who performed all their public devotions in the Company's factory house where there was a room set apart on purpose in the manner of a chapel for divine worship, the Dutch also worshipped in their Company's house.[2] There are entries in the Plakkaat Boek showing how fasts and prayers were held at Batavia for the success

[1] Quillenburgh: Refutatie in Mackenzie MSS. preserved in the India Office Library.

[2] Hedges' Diary 1662-77.

of the expedition against the Portuguese.[3] The *Plakkaat Boek* also says that on the 1st March 1659 there was a proclamation insisting on the observance of a day of thanksgiving and intercession in connection with the capture of Quilon in Malabar. Similar prayers were arranged before the expedition to Malabar in 1662 and thanksgiving was arranged for the capture of Cochin (31st March, 1st April) and of Cannanore (11th April) 1663. As further proof that the Dutch were not irreligious, it may be mentioned that, according to the *Batavia Dag Register*, the year 1665 opened with the old customs of public thanksgiving and prayers in the churches in the town and castle of Batavia.

Dutch Ministers Equipped for Evangelical Work in Malayalam The Rev. Philip Baldaeus, the Company's Chaplain at Cochin, undertook to learn Malayalam so that he might later on preach in that language. We have seen that, on the capture of Cranganore, Baldaeus gave a thanksgiving sermon on Deuteronomy XXIII/14, "For Jehovah thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee." The *Batavia Day Register* of 1665 abounds in references indicative of the religious interest of the Dutch in Malabar. The Dutch strove hard to protect the native Christians, and Van Goens also gave to the Commandeur Coulster a draft of the oath to be administered to the priests and heads of the Topasses at Cochin to bind them to the Dutch Company.[4] Later, an instruction was given that the oath for the heads of Topasses and priests should be briefly worded and should be couched as far as possible in the language of the draft prepared by Van Goens.

Intercourse with St. Thomas Christians Van Goens maintained the previous friendly terms with the St. Thomas

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[3] The *Plakkaat Boek*, 1656, 15th September.

[4] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 25th August, page 236 and 14th September, page 261.

Christians. He supported the Syrian Archdeacon who stood excommunicated by the Pope and maintained that the Company ought to recognise him as Bishop. Van Goens also received an order from the Batavia Government to seek for fuller information about the religious beliefs of the St. Thomas Christians and the circumstances in which they were made subject to the dominion of the Pope. At an extraordinary meeting of the Batavia Council held on the 26th August 1665, it was resolved to propitiate the Archdeacon by sending some Latin books and 'a comforter of the sick'[5] to Cochin for instructing the St. Thomas Christians and to appoint the above mentioned Archdeacon as Bishop of all the Christians along the coast as far as Cape Comorin and Madura.[6] A later missive from Batavia modifies the previous direction about the appointment of the Archdeacon as Bishop of all Christians on the coast as far as Cape Comorin and Madura and says that no trouble need be taken for making the Archdeacon Bishop not only of the St. Thomas Christians but also of all Christian churches extending as far as Cape Comorin and Madura.[7] The Director in Bengal was advised that a certain comforter of the sick named Arnoldus Straemon, sent with the fly-boat *Venenberg* to Bengal, was to be sent at the first opportunity to Malabar for instructing the St. Thomas Christians. The Batavia Diary of 1665 also mentions that some Latin books besides a 'comforter of the sick' were actually sent to instruct the youth of the St. Thomas Christians in Latin.[8] The entry for that date also deplores the want of zeal on the part of Dutch clergymen.

Efforts to Introduce the Reformed Religion in Malabar

As an instance of the religious activity of the Dutch

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[5] "The Comforter of the Sick" was the designation of the lay Reader helping in Dutch churches. (Galletti, page 190).

[6] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1665, 14th September, page 261.

[7] " " "

[8] " " "

in Malabar, may be mentioned the attempt to teach the reformed religion in Malabar.[9] In August 1670 the Governor General J. Maatsuyker decreed as follows:

"Before the slaves of the Company go to their work, they shall, according to their understanding, whether in Portuguese, Bengalese or Malabarse, be instructed by their masters in the essentials of the Christian religion and "Our Father," the Creed and the Ten Commandments of the Lord besides some questions prepared for them shall be read out before them. This over, the able bodied shall depart, so that the women and children who live in that quarter may assemble together in the ordinary meeting place. Then a chapter shall be read in the Portuguese language, the prayer recited, and one or two verses from the Psalms of David sung, and the service concluded with the Benediction. After the prayers are over, the children shall be instructed in the prayers. Thereafter, the master shall visit them, and each shall be instructed according to the requirements of the case and his capacity. After this is done, one of the masters in the quarter appointed, whether in the fort, or the town or the west quarter, shall then instruct both the children and the servants industriously and diligently, and finally in the evening, in the ordinary meeting place, a chapter shall be read to male persons, the prayer said, and the service ended as before."

The Batavia Government's Interest in Appointing Pastors. The Batavia Government was concerned with the appointment of pastors at Cochin.[10] At an extraordinary meeting of the Council in 1676, it was understood among other things that the Rev. Rudolphus Van Merlant was called upon by the Church Council to proceed to Cochin in place

[9] *Plakkat Bock*, 1670, 8th August.

[10] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1676, 12th September, page 219.

of the Rev. Casearius who was permitted to be relieved of his duties there and go to Batavia.

Expulsion of a Roman Catholic Bishop from Malabar by the Dutch The Batavia Dag Register for 1678 mentions that a certain Bishop named Thomas A'Castro, with commission from the Pope of Rome over all the Churches of Malabar, Canara, Madura, etc., had appeared outside the town of Cochin. He caused commotion and trouble to the Commandeur and among the churches and inhabitants. Finally, his departure from the Company's dominion had to be ordered; for "after the present weak state of our might on this coast and among the many troubles and disturbances of Malabaree princes and nobles, it was no use to meet more trouble."[11]

Controversy over the Appointment of a Bishop over St. Thomas Christians[12] The same Bishop (the Bishop of Malankara) was the head of the St. Thomas Christians, the Topasses and the Inland Christians. He had placed himself under the protection of the Company and had offered to help the Company with all his people in case of need against invaders; accordingly, on hearing of a probable assault of the French on Cochin, he had come to the town with his retinue fully equipped to offer his services. Many hindrances and kicking against the pricks had been experienced before things could be brought to this condition inasmuch as Van Rheede did not know the Malayalam language and his interpreters, being people who were attached to the churches controlled by Portuguese priests, were suspected by him, and the Hindus could not be believed. So, he made use of an old Carmelite priest, Mattheus who was an enemy of the Portuguese and was working among the

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[11] *Batavia Dag Register*, 1670, 3rd January.

[12] Memoir of Van Rheede (Dutch Records No. 14), Chapters XLIV and XLV, page 35 and *Batavia Dag Register*, 1678.

St. Thomas Christians. He was a man of cheerful and friendly manners and showed himself a particular friend to the Dutch nation. It was with his help that Van Rheede was able to maintain his ground among the St. Thomas Christians. Consequently, he was hated and disliked by the Portuguese priests and was accused of being a heretic by the Inquisition.

One of the eight Carmelites who came with the Company's passports named Fr. Bartholomeus de Spirito Santo asked for permission to enter the city of Cochin which was granted. On entering Cochin, he declared that he had been authorised by the Pope to choose and appoint a successor to the Bishop of the St. Thomas Christians. But it was Van Rheede's contention that there was an express stipulation made by the Pope that the person selected should be one acceptable to the Company. As the Company for good reasons wanted for all time to exclude Europeans, the Commandeur nominated a nephew of the Bishop Alexander de Campo (Parampil Chandy Metran) named Mattheus de Campo. Van Rheede maintained that his nominee had been acknowledged as the successor and was only awaiting the customary procedure for his consecration. He was to remain as co-adjutor to the old Bishop as long as the latter was alive. Van Rheede felt that the European priests must not be allowed to trouble any church under the Bishop of Malankara. The latter should not permit them to come in and be misled by the deceitful Topasses and work against the Company. The old Carmelite Father Mattheus, a particular trusted friend of the Bishop, it was hoped by Van Rheede, could be relied on to agree with the Dutch because he, during his long sojourn in the land, knew how convenient the Company's protection against the heathens was. He was always careful to accede to the request made about the Bishop for ensuring tranquillity to the Dutch and safeguarding the interests of the Company.

But a controversy arose over the appointment of the Bishop between Van Rheede and the European Fathers whose position is well brought out in their correspondence on the subject with the Governor-General at Batavia given *in extenso* in the Batavia Diary of 1678. In this correspondence Van Rheede is accused of using his political power to get his own nominee, the nephew of the old Bishop, appointed the latter's successor in violation of the Church's freedom of election. But it is clear that, despite the protest of the Carmelite Fathers, Van Rheede had his way. He interfered not so much to ensure the succession of a kinsman of the old Bishop as to prevent all possible likelihood of revival of the political influence of the Portuguese to which nation the Carmelite Fathers belonged. It was similar considerations which had made the Dutch Company very particular about the oaths of allegiance which were insisted on from Topasses and priests.

Correspondence of the Carmelite Fathers with the Governor-General at Batavia regarding Dutch interference in the appointment of the Bishop of the St. Thomas Christians Father Bartholomeus and his companions in their correspondence with the Governor-General at Batavia pointed out that they (the four barefooted priests) came with letters of commendation from the Stadtholder for the purpose of choosing the best available person as successor to the old Bishop. They had obtained freedom to do this and the Governors and Commandeurs were charged not to disturb or hinder the above mentioned Fathers, but to treat them courteously and to offer them a helping hand. As soon as the first Commissary or Director had made known the instructions he had brought with him to the Commandeur, the latter declared that he would not consent to the selection of any Bishop other than Father Mattheus de Campo, nephew of the then Bishop Alexander de Campo. The first Director argued much against this and

showed that they should not willingly have nominated as guardian and Bishop of Hierapolis an Indian by birth and Brahmin (sic) by race whereupon Van Rheede showed his displeasure by shaking his head. The Director then began another discourse and meekly requested that time and freedom might be granted him to consider the matter and bring it to an end. Van Rheede courteously agreed to this and permitted him to depart. A little after that, the Commandeur sent his secretary with great promises. He said that, if they selected the Father Mattheus de Campo according to his proposal, they would be given licence at all hours to go within the town. This was however unsought by them and of his own motion. It was also promised that further favours would be shown to them if need arose. That there be no want of knowledge of the determination of the Government which, according to the avowal of the Commandeur in Malabar, would hinder this election, he declared that he would arrange that the Fathers should not be allowed by the Government to make use of the churches they were then using, and that the elected Bishop would not have power to do anything without his charge or authority. The Fathers submitted that they were sent to this end not as suffragan Bishops to rule the church, but to select a Bishop who should himself govern, and that they had to do this and nothing else. They were grateful for the favours shown, but could not buy them for the price of conscience. Thereupon, the Commandeur informed them through the captain and secretary that he would threaten and commit violence. He had several times sent word to them that, if they did not choose the Father Mattheus De Campo, the Commandeur himself would authorise him to be a Bishop and compel the Christians to acknowledge him and throw them into prison. This and other things were said to the contempt of the Pope and mockery of the Cardinals.

The following conditional agreement was, however, arrived at. In case the Rev. Mattheus de Campo agreed that, if elected as Bishop, he would do everything according to the ordinances and exercise his powers freely and peaceably without violence or threat, they would choose him as Bishop and suffragan of the worthy lord Alexander de Campo, Bishop of Megara, but, if he did not do so, he would not be chosen to the office. This letter was dated Bypeen, 3rd April, 1676 and signed by B. Bartholomeus a Spiritu Santu Carmel of the barefooted Carmelites, Father Angel de Evangel, etc.

Having received their assent, the Commandeur charged the Commisaris and his envoys to depart so that he might announce the effected election, as he thought, to the Bishop Alexander and his nephew. During these negotiations, the first Director kept quiet until, being finally requested to speak, he said nothing for the words so sounded that he had not allowed and given any script of election. Immediately, it was made public that the Court of Rome had commanded the Commandeur Van Rheede to elect a Bishop for the St. Thomas people, that the Pope had placed the same people under the protection of the Hon'ble Company, also that the Father Mattheus de Campo was then chosen Bishop, that the same should be consecrated before the departure of the Commandeur Van Rheede, and that everything should be arranged in the Bishop's house for the consecration. The Fathers, having come to know of this, made complaints by public writing against the previous and the subsequent violence done to them, saying that it was false to say that they had so given it out, that they had protested for their freedom in election, also that they had maintained such good understanding, as was feasible, with the St. Thomas Christians whose Bishop should be elected to satisfy God, the ecclesiastical freedom and the Pope. They declared to the above

mentioned people and the Nayers that, in conscience, they would have elected the lord Raphæl de Figruendo, an illustrious man living in those regions and a native of the province of Malankara, who had recently vacated the chair of the Director of Koonemmavu and was Visitor and Governor-General of the Pope and the Bishop of Cochin.

Further, the reasons why they could not choose the Father Mattheus de Campo with a quiet mind were declared to be the following:—

1. "The election attempted to establish the episcopal dignity in the house of Campo—that this should descend as a hereditary succession from the uncle to the nephew. This was claimed explicitly as a matter which came to them by right as the present lord Commandeur Jacob Lobs in his letter to Thomas de Castro, Bishop of Cochin, under date the 27th April, 1677 wrote laying the fault on us with the words 'departing from the old line and from the house of the old Archdeacons who at present succeed to the Bishopric.' It is false that the Archdeacons from the house of Campo succeed as Bishops; for besides the fact that Archdeacons have not been from the line of Alexander de Campo, but out of another, namely of Thomas de Campo; the above mentioned Alexander, the first Bishop, is also not out of that house but taken from a Malabar family. Therefore, there is no previous example of such transition. This transition was demanded first simply and then by force, also as a matter of right, and inasmuch as the priesthood of Bishops is elective and not hereditary, we would rather lose our lives than commit such misdeeds against our faith.

2. "Secondly Van Rheede had made with the Bishop a covenant promising him the mitre for his nephew, the Bishop

promising to hire soldiers to protect Cochin against various Europeans; this agreement is unrighteous, ungodly and at the same time unprofitable for the Hon'ble Company—unrighteous because the St. Thomas Christians or Archipatriarchen have no right of war except for protecting their religion; in all other matters they are subject to heathen kings and consequently they have no right to enter into such an agreement. The Bishop has not the power to do this because Bishops are not worldly but spiritual princes; also because he is no Archbishop of Angamali and the proper title of Bishop of St. Thomas Archipatriarchen is not given him, but Bishop of Megara with the office of an apostolic governor legate i.e. of a delegated Bishop to whom individually the care of the church or flock is comanded. Following the command of the Apostles, they should be fighting for God and should have no power to embroil themselves in private transactions. The promises made by both sides in this agreement are outside their power. It is ungodly or against religion, for the means that are temporal and unrighteous are taken to an end which in itself is holy. What means he who desires to be a Bishop must employ, the Apostle writes in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, for which reason those affairs which must be accomplished by the Father Mattheus de Campo according to the previously noted consent could not be carried out, that is, these agreements will have to be broken if he is a true Bishop. Do not judge that we are so much against this agreement because we differ from the Hon'ble Company in faith; absolutely not, for even if it was with any Catholic prince, it would have been hindered. Finally, it is also at the same time unprofitable for the Hon'ble Company; for it is improper for the St. Thomas Christians to mix in the European wars. Writing for soldiers is unusual among them. By profession, they are merchants and every one spends his time in

the house. This agreement is without their counsel and strikes against their freedom. Such exhibitions will be laughed at by the heathen princes. Besides, such a futile effort will have no future effect worth the name.

3. "Thirdly, whereas the affairs have so far advanced that the Commandeur Van Rheede claimed the nomination of the Bishop and the same announced that it was his right and though we desired to reveal to others the great estimation we had of this man and to satisfy him in all matters, yet we cannot nevertheless surrender the commission laid on us against the rights of our Pope and freedom of the church because of the allurements of his promises and the terror of his threats. When we chose the lord Raphæl de Figuruendo, we did nothing that was against the Company. We chose our countryman who was exercising his freedom outside the jurisdiction of the Hon'ble Company and Cochin and between whom and Van Rheede no courtesy was ever displayed. We chose a Bishop over the Christians of St. Thomas whom the Hon'ble Company had never subdued just as the Portuguese King had never subdued. This Bishop has nothing to do with the Government of the Topasses for which purpose the lord Thomas de Castro has been placed. We chose a man who was himself inclined to all sorts of friendly understanding and the maintenance of civil correspondence with the Hon'ble Company. The lord Alexander de Campo has already approved the effected election and recently sent a letter to the elected inviting him to make his entry into Malankara, pointing him out a church where he could have his abode. The St. Thomas Christians are for the elected. We, relying on the Lord's welfare, have chosen one who can further the Lords's cause. This would not injure the Hon'ble Company. We request your Excellency not to disturb the election and to be kind to us. We have found from experience that antipathy to the Lord's cause produces disastrous results."

The Commandeur Supports Mattheus De Campo In spite of the contentions of the Carmelite Fathers, the Commandeur supported his own nominee. Then the Fathers did something strange which is thus stated by them.

"Considering that the Bishop Mattheus a Sancto Joseph, our fellow Carmelite, was not behaving so religiously as he should have, and refused the respect and submission due to his chiefs, and now recently changed, according to his pleasure, the ecclesiastical affairs, and disposed of the same without authority and acts against the command of the Bishop relying on the power of the Commandeur, and says much falsehood to the detriment of his fellowmen out of which much loss, resistance and great quarrels happen to church people, so it is decided to lighten the same and to remedy the affairs in the customary manner; wherefore the first Commissary by day light unweaponed, without retinue or any commotion of violence performed outwardly, but alone by himself, has brought away the Bishop Mattheus from the Church of Palluruthy. As soon as the Commandeur knew this, he sent in haste soldiers to Verapolay so that they might bring to Cochin as prisoners the lord Bishop Anglum Franciscum a Sancto Teresa and the father Bartholomeum Annam. Besides them they also took prisoner a certain woman, being the wife of one Franciscum de Rocha, who was not otherwise guilty than that she sailed in the Company of the first Commissary (Director) of Verapolay and Palluruthy to execute her own affairs; though the Fathers requested the Governor with prayers that they might bring the above said woman in a separate vessel hired at her own expense, they would not respect treat her religious scruples, but ordered that two religious or monks whose names are not known be brought in the same vessel with the woman as prisoners into the city by a public and long way. Likewise, the Commandeur has sent other soldiers to pursue

the first Director. These soldiers overtook him at a certain place as they were not fleeing in haste but peacefully pursuing their way, and the soldiers have taken them with them as prisoners to Cochin by the discharge of a musket with cry and roar of weapon, the wholly unarmed and nonresisting religious. Accusing after the lapse of three days the first Director of the effected election of the Bishop, and because he had taken the Bishop Mattheus against will and acknowledgment from under the authority of the Company, they have banned him at the same time with his companions. We lay the blame for this shameful capture not on the cautions courtesy of the Commandeur but on the indiscreet frenzy of the soldiers. What grieves the first Director inwardly is that his colleagues are also sharing his punishment.

"We came into these regions with public letters of safe conduct. We are punishable by the Pope if we have in the least shown discourtesy to the Company. We have not done any harm to the Company. We have lived outside the jurisdiction of the Hon'ble Company in the ordinary manner. We have not carried on trade, we have not troubled ourselves with state secrets, but we have induced our subordinates on suitable opportunities to obey faithfully the command of the Apostles given in Ephesians VI."

The Fathers end their letter by saying that they had been loyal to the Company but were being disturbed and that Bishop Mattheus in seeking the support of the Commandeur was acting in violation of his ecclesiastical obligations. The correspondence however shows that the Dutch Government was not prepared to make any concessions which they feared would impair their political authority and their security in Malabar.

Subordination of Religions to Political Considerations The fact was that, afraid of the political sympathies of

Catholic priests, the Dutch kept foreign priests strictly under control. The Jesuits were deliberately kept away; no Jesuit was allowed as Archbishop of Cranganore between 1659 and 1701, and the Dutch also took care to have their own nominee appointed as Bishop of that section of St. Thomas Christians who were in allegiance to Rome. Thus the Dutch interference in the affairs of Christians was very effective—a circumstance which must always be kept in mind as we study the history of the period.

APPENDIX I

Table of Currency and Weights

1 Guilder = 1 shilling 9 pence or 1 shilling 9½ pence (Tavernier Vol. 1) or 5/6 of a Rupee.

1 Real of eight was the spanish dollar (27·045 grams, about 417·368 grains).

1 Rixdollar = 1 and 7/9 Rupees or 32 Cochin Fannams.

1 Cochin Fannam was $\frac{1}{18}$, $\frac{2}{39}$ or $\frac{1}{26}$ of a Rupee at different times.

1 Rupee = 9/16 Rixdollar or 18 Cochin Fannams.

The Xerafin (Seraphin) was a silver coin formerly current in India worth about 1 shilling 5 pence.

1 Pound in Dutch documents = 1·09 English Pounds Avoirdupois.

1 Last = 3000 Dutch Pounds.

1 Candy = 500 Pounds.

A Pardao was a coin circulating in Goa, worth at the end of the 16th Century about 4 sh. 6 d., but afterwards diminishing in value to about 10½ d., used also as a money of account.

A stiver = $\frac{1}{27}$ rupee.

European gold ducat (Venetians and others) = about 2⅓ rixdollars or about 4⅙ rupees.

Moorish gold ducat (Turkish and others) = 2¼ rixdollars or about 4 rupees.

Pagoda (of Ikkeri and other West Coast mints) = 2 rixdollars or a little less, or about 3½ rupees or a little less.

(Galletti, Pages 41 and 42), and A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, by James A. H. Murray.

APPENDIX II

Malayalam Passages referred to in the Text.

I Extract from the Patappattu the transcript and translation of which are given on page 87.

കോട്ടമറഞ്ഞിട്ടും വാടമറഞ്ഞിട്ടും
കോടാതെയുള്ള മതിൽകൾ മറഞ്ഞിട്ടും
തൂണുമറഞ്ഞിട്ടും വാതിൽ മറഞ്ഞിട്ടും
താണുകുഴിയിന്നൊളിച്ചിട്ടു നോക്കിയും
വന്നരിപ്പുക്കളെനന്നായ് വെടിവെച്ചു
വെന്നു ചതിച്ചു വധിച്ചാൻ പറങ്കിയും.

II Extract from the letter of the King of Cochin in Tippu's time to the Governor-General at Batavia (See translation on page 114 and English transcript on page 138.)

പെരുമ്പടപ്പിൽ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലെ വസ്തുത ഒക്കയും വളരെ കീർത്തിപെട്ട ഇസ്താത്തിന്റെയും പ്രിൻസ്സിപ്പിടെ ഒരാഞ്ഞന സ്സാവു എജമാനന്മാരിടെ കല്പനയ്ക്കും വന്നിരിക്കുന്ന കുമ്മസാരിസ്സു എജമാന്മാരെ ബോധിക്കേണ്ടതിനായിട്ട എഴുതിയ അറിവ ആകുന്നത.

നമ്മുടെ പൂർവ്വന്മാരുടെ കാലത്ത പറങ്കികൾ കൊച്ചിക്കോട്ടയിൽ വാഴുന്ന നാളിൽ പറങ്കികൾ നമ്മുടെ ശത്രുക്കളുമായി

ചെന്ന് നമ്മോട വിപരീതം തുടങ്ങുകകൊണ്ട ഏറിയ അന
ർത്ഥങ്ങളും ചേതങ്ങളും പോരായ്കകളും നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തുങ്ക
ലെയ്ക്കു വന്നതിന്റെശേഷം നമ്മുടെ കാരണോന്മാര ബഹുമാന
പ്പെട്ട ഉലന്ത കുംപഞ്ഞിയ്ക്കു നല്ല നേരും മര്യ്യാദയും ബലവും ഉ
ണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രകാരം ഗ്രഹിച്ചു നമ്മുടെ പൂർവ്വന്മാര ബഹുമാ
നപ്പെട്ട കുംപഞ്ഞിയെ ചെന്നകണ്ട മെലിൽ കുംപഞ്ഞി നമ്മുടെ
സ്വരൂപത്തുംകലെയ്ക്കു ബെന്ധുവായി ഇരിക്കതൊക്കവെണ്ണം നിശ്ച
യിച്ചു അന്ന്യോന്ന്യം വിശ്വസിച്ചതിന്റെശേഷം കുംപഞ്ഞിയുടെ
ബലം കൂട്ടി അയച്ചു പറങ്കികൾ ഇരുന്നിരുന്ന കോട്ടകൾ ഒക്കെ
യും കുംപഞ്ഞിയുടെ വിധെയത്തിൽ ആക്കി നമ്മുടെ ശത്രുക്കളുടെ
അമർച്ചയും വരുത്തി രാജ്യം നമുക്ക സ്വാധീനമായി തന്നിരി
ക്കുന്നു.

(From the original preserved at the Central Record Office Ernakulam)

III The Malayalam version of the Dutch Treaty with the Raja of Purakkad dated the 14th March 1663. (See English translation on pages 140 – 141 and English transcript on pages 156 – 157). This was kindly supplied by the Travancore Archaeological Department.

ഉലന്തയും കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിയും കൊച്ചിരാജാവും പുറ
ക്കാട്ട രാജാവും പറെഞ്ഞു തെളിഞ്ഞു വിശ്വസിച്ച പ്രകാരവും ത
ങ്ങളിൽ കല്പിച്ചപ്രകാരവും ഇത ഠരം മൂവരും തങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്നു
പോലെ (വെണ്ടുന്നതും ഒരു നല്ല രവ്യഭ്രമി) ഒള്ളനാൾവരെക്കും
കീഴിൽ കഴിഞ്ഞതൊക്കെയും മുഴുവൻ മറന്നെക്കയും അതി
ന്റെ മൂലം ഇവർ തങ്ങളിൽ വെണ്ടുന്നത തരൊതൊഷവും വെണ്ടി
ക്കെയും. ഇത ആതിത്തനും ശന്ത്രനമുള്ള (നാൾവരെ വെണമെ

ന്നും പിറക്കാട്ട) രാജാവു വെളിയായി കല്പിച്ചത കൊച്ചി നാട്ടിൽ വിരൊധിപ്പാൻ വരുന്നവരൊട എതുപ്രകാരമെന്നാലും അവരൊട പ്രജൊകി ആവാൻ ഞാൻതന്നെ എന്നുംകൂട പിറക്കാട രാജാവു വാഗ്ത്തപ്പാട (തരുന്നു തനിക്ക അടങ്ങിയ നാട്ടിൽനിന്നും കൊന്ത) വമ്മരാജാവെ കളയുമാറെന്നും ഒരിക്കലും പിന്നെ വരാത്തവണ്ണം അയെക്കുമാറെന്നും കൊമ്പിഞ്ഞിക്ക വാഗ്ത്തപ്പാട തന്നത ഇനി മെൽ പറങ്കിയൊട വിശ്വതി(ച്ചവണ്ണം കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിയൊട പിറക്കാ)ട രാജാവു വാഗ്ത്തപ്പാട തരന്നു മിളകും കറവായും പിടിക്കിന്നമില്ല. മറുതിക്കിൽ കൊടുത്തു അയെക്കിന്നമില്ലെന്നും കൊമ്പഞ്ഞി ആളുടെ ഒപ്പൊടയും കൊച്ചിരാജാ(വിന്റെ ഒപ്പൊടയുംകൂടെ അല്ലാതെ ചെയ്കളുവന്നും ഇഞ്ഞ)നങ്ങൾന്തന്നെ ആവെന്നും കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിക്ക പിറക്കാടുരാജാവിന്റെ നാട്ടിൽ കല്ലുകൊണ്ട ഒരു വീട (വൈക്കുമാറന്നും അത അവരുടെ ചരക്കിന്റെ ഉറുതിക്കും നെരാമ്മണ്ണം നടക്കാനും പിറക്കാട രാജാവു വാഗ്ത്തപ്പാട തരുന്നു. ഇനിമെൽ ആന)കയും ഇറക്കുകയും ഇല്ലന്നും പിറക്കാട രാജാവു വാഗ്ത്തപ്പാട തരുന്നു. പറുംകിട അറുമാത്തു തന്റെ തെശത്ത കിടക്കുന്ന തന്നെതി (നഴിഞ്ഞ അൎത്ഥം കൊടുക്കുമ്പൊൾ ഇങ്ങൊട്ടു തരുമാറെന്നും വലിയൊരു അന്ന്യൊന്ന്യത്തിന്റെ അടയാളത്തിനു പിറക്കാട രാജാവു ഉടനെ ഇരുന്നൂറുകൊൽ നീളത്തിൽ വാട ഇടിച്ചുനിരത്തണം കൊച്ചി രാജാവിന്റെ ദിക്കിൽ ചെന്നടത്തെത ചെഷംനിത്തി (വച്ചാൽ കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിക്കും കൊച്ചിരാജാവിനും പ്രസാദമാകും വണ്ണം തെ അതിന്റെ ശിക്ഷ തീക്കയും അരു)ളു കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിയ വാഗ്ത്തപ്പാട തരുന്നു. ഒരം രണ്ടെടത്തെക്കും പ്രജൊകിയാഗ്ഗ വരുന്നവരൊട പ്രജൊകിച്ച സകായിപ്പാനൊള്ള (തിന എന്ന വിചാരസ്ഥ നടക്കമെന്നാൽ അന്നൊളവും കല്പിക്കന്നു ആചാരം പൊരുംവണ്ണം നടന്നുകൊ) നെറിമറ നടത്തി

കൊള്ളുമാറെന്നും സകലരും അനിവതിച്ചു എല്ലാരും കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിക്കു അനുഭവിക്കണ്ടുന്നത അവ്വണ്ണം തന്നെ ആവലിമയൊടയും പലിശത്തൊടയും അനുഭവിക്കയും വെണം ഇത ആറായിട്ടു എഴുതി) മൂന്നു ഓലയും മൂന്നു കടതാചിയും മൂന്നടത്തിന്നു ഒപ്പും ഇട്ടു ഒരേ കടതാചിയും ഒരെ ഓലെയും ഓരൊത്തെരവച്ചുക്കെയും കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിയും കൊച്ചിരാജാവും പിറക്കാട്ടു രാജാവും ഇങ്ങനെ ഇരുന്നുകൊള്ളുകയും.

Signature in English. (Dutch?)

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St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Trichinopoly—1948—500 copies.